FREE KASHMIR

Amanullah Khan

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To those noble sons and daughters, dead and alive, of the motherland who have in any way sacrificed for or contributed towards independence of the much trodden and long trampled land and people of Jammu and Kashmir.

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PREFACE

One of the misfortunes of Kashmiri people and the most unfortunate aspect of Kashmir issue is that the voice of the people of the State has all along been proving a cry in the wilderness. It has purposely been rendered too feeble to be audible in the chorus of international power politics. Even within the State, circumstances have been created to the effect that a large number of people pose to be more loyal than the king in their support to India or Pakistan with the result that the issue has got badly confused. It is therefore in the fitness of things that an attempt is made to analyse the issue with a realistic perspective and from purely Kashmiri point of view so that it is understood in its true form. This book is a humble attempt towards that end.

Writing a book is generally a difficult job. It is all the more difficult to write one on a subject that has received different treatments and contrasting interpretations and has hence been confused. Besides, a writer is usually handicapped in so many ways. His personal likes and dislikes, the environment and circumstantial expediencies usually influence his mind and whatever he writes has, more often than not, an infection of these elements. Even in recording history, not to say of analysing issues, people adopt different approaches. The popular uprising of 1857 of Indian Muslims has been dubbed as mutiny by British historians and even Indian historians used to term it so during British rule in India, but the historians of free India and Pakistan term it as the first effort towards national emancipation although the events were the same in both cases. I have kept all these things in mind and have avoided as much as I could, being unduly influenced by these elements. While recording history or recalling events, I have tried my best to strictly adhere to the general principle that a historian has to act as a judge and not as an advocate. Yet being a human being and since to err is human, I may have unintentionally or erroneously mentioned or omitted something unduly for which I beseech forgiveness from the concerned people.

Writing a book particularly on a subject like

Kashmir issue requires long term planning and a thorough research but due to some unavoidable personal circumstances and heavy personal engagements ahead, I had to rush through and complete the book in almost a record period of just over two months. I had started writing it in March 1970 but my mother's sudden illness dragged me to Gilgit from where I returned in May. Half the month of June was spent outside Karachi in connection with the Jammu and Kashmir State Peoples Convention (for Azad Kashmir and Pakistan) held in Rawalpindi on 7th June. Collecting references, writing, typing, printing and binding of the book was done in just over two months. No surprise therefore that I had to work for 15 to 17 hours a day during these two months. It is due to this extra ordinary haste that there are a number of printing mistakes. Due to some misunderstanding, paper used in pages No. 133 to 196 is of different and inferior quality. On completion of the book I also realised that there is room for improvement in language and material. These defects will be removed if and when need arises for a second edition. For the present I can only offer my regrets for the flaws.

Constructive criticism will be most welcome but there are people who have a habit of opposing for the sake of opposition and to please their paymasters. Nevertheless they have a

democratic right to adopt any point of view as much as I have the right to express my own.

It looks, language in the Third Chapter is rather too harsh but see the nature of incidents mentioned in it. Don't they deserve to be condemned this very way?

I am an office-bearer of Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front (For Azad Kashmir and Pakistan) but this book has nothing to do with the Front. The views as also the venture are my personal and I shoulder the responsibility exclusively.

I have sacrificed my health, energy and time on this book. The views are based on my sincere and firm conviction. I will consider this humble contribution of mine towards the independence movement as also the sacrifice of my health and energy, to have proved of some avail if the readers understand these views in their letter and spirit and contribute their bit towards implementing them.

16, K. M. C. Bldg.
Lea Market,
Karachi, Pakistan.
August 14, 1970.

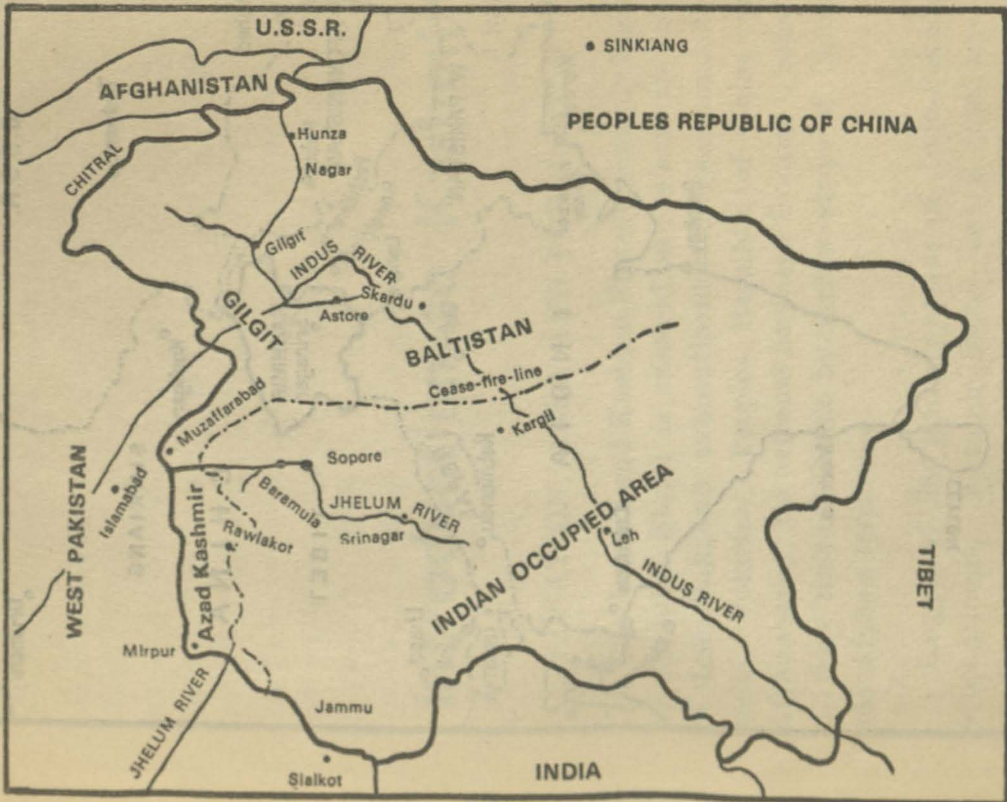
Amanullah Khan

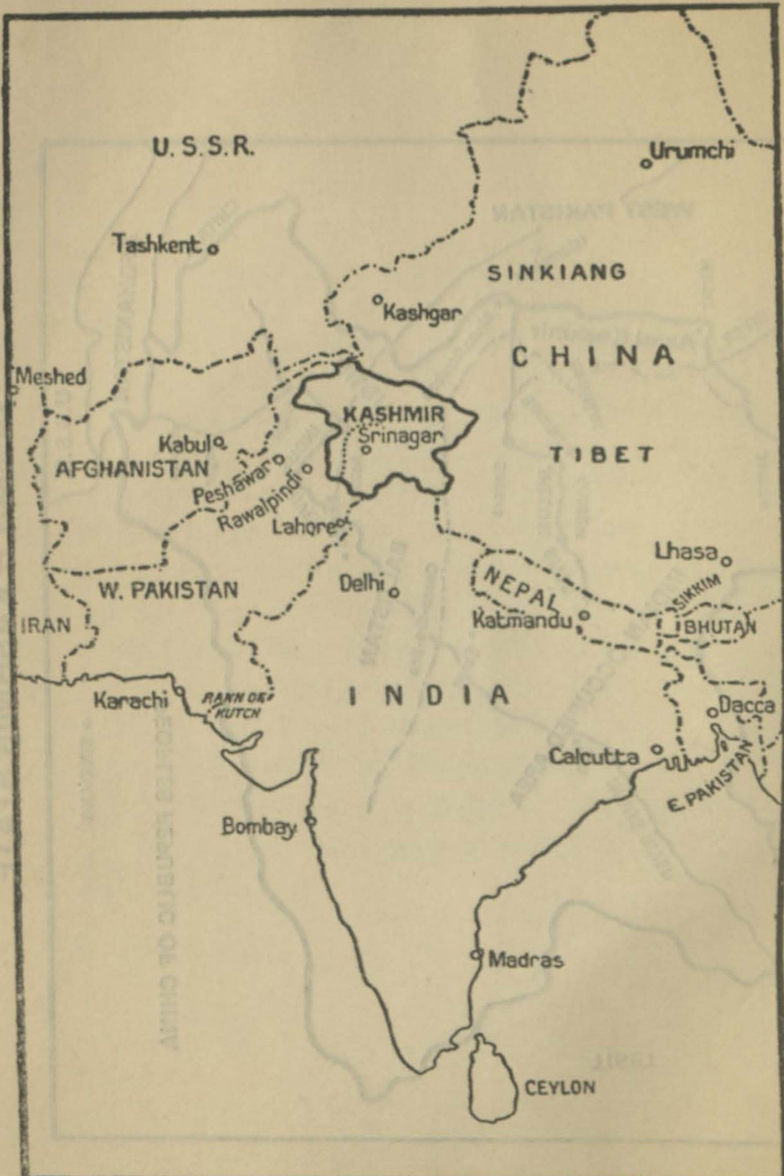
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Writing a book is, more often than not, an individual feat. But the job requires help from friends from the time of conception through the stages of writing, typing, printing upto delivering. These friends therefore deserve due thanks. As such, I put on record my gratefulness to Dr. Farooq Haider, Asghar Butt, Mir Abdul Ghani, Khwaja Ataullah, Shaukat Rashid, Mehboob Ali Khan, Mian Gul and above all to Mir Abdul Mannan, but for whose inspiring encouragement and practical assistance I would have hardly been able to present this book in this form and in such a short period of time. Nevertheless the responsibility regarding the contents is on myself exclusively.

Amanullah Khan

JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE





U.S.S.R.
Urumchi
Tashkent
SINKIANG
Kashgar
CHINA
Meshed
KASHMIR
Srinagar
Kabul
TIBET
AFGHANISTAN
Peshawar
Rawalpindi
Lahore
Lhasa
W. PAKISTAN
Delhi
NEPAL
SIKKIM
IRAN
Katmandu
BHUTAN
Karachi
RANN OF KUTCH
INDIA
Dacca
Calcutta
E. PAKISTAN
Bombay
Madras
CEYLON

CHAPTRE I

Introduction to Kashmir

LOCATION, AREA AND POPULATION

The Jammu and Kashmir State (commonly known as Kashmir State) is situated on the extreme north of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and is surrounded by India, Pakistan, Peoples Republic of China and Afghanistan. Its extreme northern frontier is separated from that of Russia by narrow strips of Chinese and Afghan territories.

Largest of 584 princely states of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Kashmir State has a total area of 84,494 square miles i.e. more than the areas of Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Austria and Albania put together. This area is at present divided into three parts, Indian-held part (about 52 thousand sq. miles), Azad Kashmir (about 4 thousand sq. mlies)

and Gilgit Baltistan (about 28 thousand sq. miles). Total population of the State is about 6 million out of which about 3.5 million live in Indian-held part, about 1.3 million in Azad Kashmir, about 0.5 million in Gilgit Baltistan and about 0.7 million in Pakistan as refugees. According to the census of 1941, the composition of States population was 77 p.c. Muslims, 20 p.c. Hindus and the rest Sikhs, Budhists and Christians. The State had three provinces till October, 1947 i.e. the provinces of Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Frontier Regions (Gilgit Baltistan and Ladakh). The population of Jammu province was 48 percent of the whole, of Kashmir province 44 percent and that of the Frontier Regions 8 percent. Srinagar is the Summer Capital and Jammu Winter Capital of Indian-held part and Muzaffarabad that of Azad Kashmir where as the official headquarters of Gilgit Baltistan are at Gilgit. A part of Gilgit on the western side of the Indus River was taken on lease by British Government in 1935 from the State-ruler but was returned to State on First August, 1947 i.e. two weeks before India and Pakistan came into existence as independent dominions

PEOPLE AND CULTURE

The texture of present population of Kashmir State is composed of races claiming their decent from Semetic, Mongoloid, Aryan, Persian and Arab races. The main languages spoken are Kashmiri, Punjabi, Pahari, Shina, Balti and Broshiski. Almost all of them are dialects. The official languages are

English and Urdu: Hindi has now been introduced by India in her occupied part of the State. The Pundits (Hindus) of Kashmir Valley are mostly Brahmins, the superior most social sect of Hinduism. The culture of Jammu Province resembles with that of the Punjab whereas that of Gilgit Baltistan and Ladakh is akin to that of Central Asia. Kashmir Valley has its own culture, more resembling with that of Iran. The people of Jammu Province including, Poonchh and of frontier regions of Gilgit, Baltistan and Ladakh are militant. About people of Kashmir Valley, Bernier, a French traveller comments "Kashmiris are celebrated for wit and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and sciences they are not inferior to Persians and they are very active and industrious".

THE TOURIST PARADISE

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is a land of snow covered peaks including two of the worlds highest four (K 2 and Nanga Parbat), sweet scented valleys, pinpointed pine forests, velvet green plateaus and climates varying from arctic cold to tropical heat. Its antiquity has been traced as far back as the stone age. Lovers of natural beauty call Kashmir Valley as "Paradise on Earth", "Natures Show-case" and "Switzerland of Asia". Besides Kashmir Valley there are Hunza, Gurez, Neel m, Rawalakot, Kud and Batote which exhibit exellent natural beauty. Comparing Kashmir with Switzerland, Sir Francis Younghusband in his book "Kashmir" says, "The

country with which one is most apt to compare it (Kashmir) is Switzerland. And witzerland indeed has many charms and combination of lake and mountain in which I think it excells Kashmir. But it is built on a smaller scale. There is not the same white sweep of snow-clad mountains. There is no place where one can see the complete circle of snowy mountains surrounding a plains of any thing like the length and breadth of Kashmir Valley, for the main valleys of Switzerland are like side valleys of Kashmir. And above every thing, there is not behind Switzerland what there is at the back of Kashmir and visible in glimpses from the southern side, a region of stupenduous mountains surpassing every other in the world .... In the spring we think the spring is the most equisitely beautiful. In the autum we say that nothing could exceed the charm of brilliant autumn tints."

"In truth the Kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warmest imagination had anticipated", is Bernier's comment on Kashmir.

While the enchanting sceneries of Kashmir intoxicate lovers of natural beauty, the climate of the valley is full of health and pleasant. Besides picturesque valleys and ideal climate, Kashmir provides tourists with numerous attractive items of entertainment, both in winter and summer, such as games, riding, hunting, skiing, skating and mountaineering. Boat-races of Kashmir Valley, Polo of Gilgit and folk dances of Baltistan and Mirpur are simply thrilling

for spectators. But the present political uncertainty in the State has, on one hand turned this very" paradise on earth" into a vast prison for its inhabitants and on the other hand, become almost a bar for foreign tourists. Once Kashmir is free from alien forced domination, and some more tourist facilities provided, it can become a 'paradise on earth' in the real sense of the word and will attract lovers of natural beauty from all over the world.

HISTORY IN BRIEF.

The history of Kashmir is traceable as far back as 4000 years B.C. Twenty-one dynasties of Hindus, Budhists, Jains and Zorastrans had ruled Kashmir till 14th century A.D. when Muslims appeared at its political stage. Of these twenty-one dynasties, eighteen were native, under whom Kashmir enjoyed an independent status and comparatively far better prosperity. During the period of Lalita Ditya, one of the most powerful kings of pre-muslim era who ruled Kashmir from 715 to 752 A.D., most of the present Punjab, a part of Tibet and a large area of Central Asia was under the kingdom of Kashmir- Kashmir commanded high respect from all neighbouring states.

Muslims ruled the State for 479 years (1340 to 1819 A.D.) and this included 240 years of independence. Kashmir attained the peak of her glory during the period of Sultan Zainul Abedin (1420 to 1470 A.D.) popularly known as Budshah. Budshah,the great king as it means in Kashmiri language, was one of the

noblest sons of the soil. People used to call him "Budshah" with love and affection and even today they mention his name with great respect.

Budshahs Kashmir was a model of economic prosperity, social justice and communal harmony in this part of the world. As a great centre of learning and culture, Kashmir attracted students from India, Persia, Central Asia and Middle-Eest. Trade and commerce were at their peak and all the neighbouring nations held Kashmir in great esteem. As a free and patriotic nation, Kashmiris repulsed all those forces which posed a threat to their independence. Budshah's rule of 50 years is therefore called the "Golden Period" of Kashmir history. Before Budshah, Sultan Shahabuddin, another illustrous son of the soil had consolidated Kashmir's independence paving way for Budshah to make it a welfare state. The kingdom of Kashmir included large parts of present N.W.F.P. and the Punjab of Pakistan, the Punjab and Hariana of India and western Tibet during the reign of Shahaduddin and Budshah. All these areas were conquered by Shahabuddin. He fought Feroze Tughluq, the then king of India on the banks of Sutlej River. Sarhind (India's head) now in India, formed the Indo-Kashmir border. The treaty between Shahabuddin and Feroze Tughluq included marriage of Tughluq's three daughters to Shahabuddin's kins. In the north Kashmir kingdom included large portions of the Central Asia. Embassies represented Kashmir in Turkey, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Delhi and Gujrat. (India)

With the death of Budshah began the gradual decline of Kashmirs golden era. Budshah's Shahmiri dynasty was later over-thrown by Chaks who ruled the State for quite some time and in 1579 A.D. the independence of Kashmir came to an end when Akbar, the great Moghal king of India annexed Kashmir but only after facing two defeats (and perhaps the only two during his kingship) at the hands of Kashmiri patriots. The Moghals ruled the State for about two centuries. As lovers of natural beauty, they, especially Jahangir and Shah Jahan, visited Kashmir quite often and took steps to add to its loveliness by raising stylish buildings and beautiful gardens. But Mughals did not bother much to improve common man's lot. On the contrary, they introduced a typical way of living including use of Pheran, a very long and loose shirt, Kangri, an earthen pot covered with wooden strings which is filled with burning coal and kept under the pheran to keep oneself warm, and Khrawoon, high-heeled wooden shoes. All the three things made people easy-going, lazy and indolent and with passage of time, coward, timid and fainthearted. This was a very effective recipe to deprive Kahmiris of their erst-while bravery militancy and self-confidence. This was done to eliminate all chances of a revolt by Kashmiris against Moghal rulers and the latter fully succeeded in their vicious aim.

With the decline of Moghal power, Kashmir was annexed by Afghans. The Afghan rule over Kashmir which lasted for 67 years (1752 to I819 A.D) was one of cruelty and loot. Most of the Afghan governors

of Kashmir crushed the people ruthlessly. Their only aim was to extract money and they robbed Kashmiris on one pretext or the other. But there was something worse in store for Kashmiris. The State was conquered by the Sikhs who made it a colony of theirs. The Sikh rule which lasted for only 27 years was worse than that of Afghans. Continuous slavery and ruthless supperession by foreign rulers had badly demoralised Kashmiris hence they could not put up a concerted resistence against alien domination and suppression and this subjected them to yet another slavery. In 1846 when the British conquered Kashmir as a result of a defeat which they inflicted on the Sikhs with the treacherous help of Gulab Singh, a minister of the Sikh court, they sold Kashmir to Gulab Singh like a commercial commodity for a paltry sum of Rs. 7.5 million. This most ignominious and in-human transaction was made by the British who claim to be the champions of democracy and moral values. Even the present miseries of Kashmiris owe their origin to the Britishers to a great extent as it was Lord Mountbatten woh played an active role in thrusting Indias slavery on Kashmiris.

Gulab Singh and his successors ruled the State with an iron hand. Some of the patriots who resisted the inhuman suppression were flayed alive and others subjected to other similar atrocities. This wave of repression continued until 1931 when the Muslims of Kashmir realised that they would perish if they continued to let the ever-increasing suppression go unchecked and unarrested. History is evident that

the oppressed get unexpected strength when cruelty reaches its climax- The erstwhile coward Kashmiris abruptly shook off their timidity and rose in revolt against despotic ruler under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas and Mir Waiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah. Within a couple of years they compelled the autocratic ruler to concede to them a number of political, economic and social rights. A Legislative Assembly, incidently the first of its kind in any of 584 princely states of the subcontinent, was elected and a semi-democratic government established. In 1946, exactly one hundred years after the Treaty of Amritsar, (under which Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh), Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah started the famous "Quit Kashmir" movement asking the ruler, who ruled the State by virtue of the ignominious treaty, to quit the State and leave it to its people. The Sheikh was arrested along with his colleagues and sentenced to 9 years rigorous imprisonment. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his colleagues were in jail when in 1947, the subcontinent got rid of the British rule and two independent nations, India and Pakistan, came into being. But like the proverbial fish that had struggled its way out of the frying pan but had fallen to the fire, Kashmir was pounced upon by the Indian imperialistic monster just at the time when she was about to get free from the autocratic rule. Kashmir is since groaning under Indias forced domination. A part of the State which was liberated from Dogra-cum-Indian yoke, did not also see real freedom and is under practical control of Pakistan.

Inspite of the fact that the people of no other state or of British India suffered as much of continuous suppression and slavery as the people of Kashmir, yet Kashmiris were far ahead of the rest of India in many aspects. They cowed the autocratic ruler down and compelled him to concede to most of their political demands at a time when the people of other states were politically fast asleep. They left even the people of British India behind, when Kashmiris succeeded in getting a Legislative Assembly elected three years before the first ever elections were held in British India. Moreover, whereas a number of other states such as Hyderabad, Junagadh etc easily succumbed to forced annexations, the people of Kashmir have, despite being subjected to unimaginable trials and tribulations during the last 23 years, kept the flame of their freedom movement ablaze through their high sense of patriotism, spirit of sacrifice and political consciousness.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF

Kashmiris' Political Struggle

Freedom of their motherland has always been an article of faith with people of Kashmir. Their history is replete with instantces of constant struggle and supreme sacrifice in the cause of freedom. They fought the Moghals to defend it and never failed to wage a heroic struggle to regain it whenever an apportunity showed up. But the alien rulers deployed all means and tactics to destory their spirit and urge for freedom. Moghals used a strange strategy to convert the brave and militant Kashmiri nation into an easy-going and timid people by introducing a typical way of living. The Durranis of Afghanistan used too strong an iron hand to leave any chances for the already trodden Kashmiris to make any efforts to regain their lost independence . The Sikhs perpetrated all that is barbaric to extinguish the flame of Kashmiris freedom

struggle· All these sinister moves on the part of alien rulers, anyhow, failed miserably to dampen the freedom spirit of Kashmiris and inspite of undergoing so many trials and tribulations, they put up a stiff fight against the combined might of Gulab Singh and the British. In Ladakh, Gilgit, and Baltistan, the Dogra army suffered heavy defeats at the hands of local chieftains and it was not before they resorted to the notorious British device of "divide and rule" after 46 years of fruitless ventures, that Gulab Singh's successors succeeded in partially sub-duing the local chieftains and that too by conceding internal autonomy to most of them. Raja Gohar-Rahman of Gilgit was a terror for Dogra-cum-British forces and inflicted some crushing defeats on them. He used a type of guerrilla tactics which surpasses even the modern guerrilla war in technique and strategy. Ahmed Shah, the Raja of Baltistan butchered the alien armies before he was sub-dued through a conpiracy. In Ladakh the entire garrison headed by General Zoraawar Singh, a close lieutenant of Raja Gulab Singh was wiped out completely by the local chieftain before the area was conquered by the Dogras a year later. Hunza, Nagar and other parts of Gilgit could not be conquered until 1892.

In Kashmir Valley, the people continued their struggle for freedom but could not put up a tough fight. Owing to constant torture at the hands of alien rulers and invaders, some of them left the State in despair and settled in the Punjab, Delhi and United

Provinces from where they launched a movement to expose the barbaric rulers and their atrocities on Kashmiris. The areas of the State which now form Azad Kashmir putup a strong resistance. The Sultans of Kathai and other small local chiefs fought the Dogra army tooth and nail and subjected them to heavy losses before they were subdued. The people of Poonchh gave a very tough fight. Some of the local chiefs were got flayed alive by the ruler to 'teach a lesson to the trouble makers'. Besides these localised ventures, there was any-how, no organised State-wide movement until 1931when the people resorted to open revolt. The movement which within a short period of time spread to even some of the remotest areas of the State, was spearheaded by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah and some other youngmen of integrity and courage. In 1932, the State had the first ever political party, the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas elected as its first President and General Secretary respectively. The Muslim Conference put-up a concerted fight against the despotic rule and within a few years cowed it down and compelled the ruler to concede some political rights to the people. A Legislative Assembly was established for the first time in 1934 with some members elected by the people and some nominated by the ruler. Muslim Conference captured almost all the seats allocated to Muslims of the State. After a few years it was any-

how felt that the organisation should have a nationalistic approach and secular character. The constitution of the organisation was changed to accommodate non-muslims. The body was re-named as the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. This change came in 1939. In 1940-41, some leaders of the Nationnal Conference including Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, one of the key figures,left the organisation and revived the Muslim Conference in 1942. Hence-forth the State had two political parties. Some efforts were made by some influential Muslim leaders of India including Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to bring about unity between the two organisations, but they failed. Both these organisations continued their struggle for a fully responsible and representative Government, and in the process their leaders were arrested time and again.

In 1946, exactly one hundred years after signing of the ignominious Treaty of Amritsar, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah started the historic, 'Queit Kashmir' movement demanding of the despotic ruler to quit the State and leave it to its real masters,the people, as the treaty under which the Dogra-house had become the ruler of Kashmir, had lost its validity. The movement soon spread throught the Valley like wild fire. Thousands of National Conference workers and leaders including Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were arrested. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was tried for sedition and sentenced to 9 years rigorous imprisonment. In the meantime while Sheikh Sahib's trial was going on, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas

was also arrested for violating certain restritive law of the State.

Both Sheikh Abdullah and Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas were in jail when in August, 1947, the Indo-Pak Subcontinent got freedom from British rule and two dominions of India and Pakistan emerged thereof, the former comprising the non-muslim majority areas and the later muslim majority areas of British India. The British ruled some parts of the sub-continent directly and the rest was divided into 584 princely states which enjoyed internal autonomy and had pacts with the British Government. The Jammu & Kasemir State was one of the biggest in population and largest in area among them. After the British quit the subcontinent, all the pacts of these states with British Government lapsed and all of them became independent states. They were anyhow "advised" by the British under the Indian Independence Act 1947, to decide about their future alignments keeping the geographical position, economic interests and the will of their people in view. Under the circumstances, they had the options of either acceding to India or Pakistan or remaining independent. Hyderabad, the biggest and the wealthiest State having an estimated population of 13 million, wanted to remain independent but was attacked and annexed by India in September 1948 on the plea that the State had non-muslim majority though headed by a muslim ruler. The states of Junagarh, Manawadar and Mangrol acceded to Pakistan but were attacked and annexed by India on the

same plea. Rest of the states except Kashmir acceded either to India or to Pakistan.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir which had a non-muslim ruler but muslim majority (77.p c.) and was geographically more contiguous with and economically more dependent on Pakistan, had only two options, independence or accession to Pakistan, according to Indian Independence Act of 1947 and even according to the "principles" which India had applied in Hyderabad, Junagarh, Monawadar and Mangrol. But Indians were thinking of applying different principles in case of Kashmir. They refused to sign a stand-still agreement with the ruler of Kashmir who had already signed one with Pakistan. Instead, they restorted to conspiracies. Their Secretary for States Mr.V.P. Menon paid several visits to Kashmir and tried to persuade and pressurise the ruler to accede to India. When the people of Poonchh came to know of these talks, they rose in revolt against the ruler and were later joined by tribesmen from Pakistan. The ruler asked India for help but the Indian Government conditioned it to accession of the State to India. The ruler in the meantime fled the State Capital Srinagar, bag and baggage and ran away to Jammu where .V.P.Menon appeared with the accession deed which the Maharaja was forced to sign. The accession was approved by the Indian Government with a proviso to refer the issue of States future to the people after normallcy, had returned to the State and that the decision taken by the people of Kashmir

in a free and impartial atmosphere would be final and binding on India. No sooner than the "Accession Deed" was signed, Indian forces landed in Kashmir. Neutral observes and even some Indian writers including late Maulana Azad have confessed that all that was a preplanned conspiracy on the part of India. With Indian forces landing in Kashmir, the confrontation between the Dogra forces and Kashmiris resulted in a full-fledged war which was later joined by Pakistan forces. The Indian forces landed in Kashmir on 27th October, 1947 whereas an Azad Government had earlier been formed in the liberated territory. The war continued until 31st December, 1948 when a ceas-fire was ordered on U.N. intervention. At the time of ceas-fire, about two third area of the State was under the occupation of Indian forces and the rest under Pakistan's practical control.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was released from Jail on 29 September, 1947 i.e. after only one and half a year of his 9 year term of imprisonment. He had differences with the Quaid-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President of All India Muslim League since 1944 when the latter had visited Kashmir on formers invitation- During the discussions that took place between the two, differences arose on some vital issues concerning Kashmiris freedom movement and National Conference ideology. The Quaid made a mention of these differences in the public meeting held next day under the auspices of Muslim Conference, Sheikh

Sahib's rival party. (It is generally felt that vested interests had intentionally misinformed the Quaid about the political situation in the State especially about Sheikh Sahib's popularity in the masses). This annoyed National Conference workers and they demonstrated against him at Baramulla. These demonstrations irritated the Quaid so much that he sent a telegram from Murree to the Dogra ruler of Kashmir advising him to crush what he (the Quaid) termed as "Abdullah's Goondaism". The gulf between the two leaders created at Srinagar widened as time passed. It widened further when the Muslim League refused to lend support to the "Quit Kashmir" movement launched by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah against the Dogra ruler in 1946. The Indian National Congress extended full support to the movement and deputed Mr. Asif Ali to defend Sheikh Sahib during his trial. Mr. Nehru himself, despite State rulers warning, forced his way into Kashmir and was arrested by State Police at Kohala, the then Indo-Kashmir border.

After his release from jail in Sept. 1947 Sheikh Sahib showed some singns of his leanings towards India. It is also said that his premature release from jail was the result of Mr. Nehru's and Mr. Gandi's efforts. While he was yet to take a firm decision and was waiting return from Pakistan of his emissary Mr. G. M. Sadiq, who was in Lahore exploring possibilities of some understandings with Pakistan Government about States future, a strong propaganda

compaign started against him in Pakistan through press and radio. His emissary too returned disappointed as he could not even meet the central leadership of Pakistan due to certain hindrences. Successive events pushed Sheikh Sahib further to India's side and Mr. Nehru used his wits to fully exploit the situation. Sheikh Sahib who had earlier acclaimed the popular revolt in Poonchh, changed his stand. He then paid a visit to New Delhi where he conditionally consented to India's action in Kashmir. It is said that it was due to his efforts that the accession was made conditional. A reference to him in Lord Mountbatten's letter to the ruler of Kashmir accepting the 'accession' conditionally, supports this view. On 31st October 1947 Sheikh Sahib was appointed the Chief Emergency Administrator and on 5th March 1948 the Prime Minister of the State. He retained that position till 9th August 1953 when he was deposed and arrested along his trusted colleagues under a conspiracy hatched at New Delhi. Earlier in 1951 Sheikh Sahib had convened a Constituent Assembly which besides bringing the despotic heriditory rule to an end, framed a constitution for the State providing for a separate Head of the State and Prime Minister, a separate National Flag, separate State Language and separate Civil and Penal Laws. Under pressure from Sheikh Sahib, the Dogra ruler had already been made to abdicate in 1948. He left the State for good to settle down in Bombay where he died in early Sixties.

After 1951, the Indian Government had started backing out of the pledges given by her to Kashmiris and resorted to undue interference in the State's internal affairs to Sheikh Sahib's and peoples great resentment. The Delhi Agreement of 1952 between Sheikh Sahib and Indian government also failed to straighten the strained relations between them. The gulf of differences widened further and when on 9th of June 1953, the National Conference headed by Sheikh Sahib openly demanding of India to fulfil her pledges given to the people since 1947 and re itrated at the Security Council, suggested four alternate solutions of the issue including complete independence of the entire State, the Indian Government took a very serious note of it. They then started hatching conspiracies against Sheikh Sahib and after hectic efforts succeeded in winning over Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Deputy Prime Minister of the State. Bakhshi started secret parleys with his Indian masters against Sheikh Sahib whereas in public he continued pledging sincere allegiance to Sheikh Sahib which he claimed to be an article of faith with him. The state of affairs took an abrupt and strange turn when Shamlal Saraf, a Hindu Minister of Sheikh Sahib's Cabinet, who had earned a bad name for corruption and maladministration, refused to resign on Sheikh Sahib's advice on the plea that he represented Hindus in the State Government and that Sheikh Sahib being a muslim, had no right to ask for his resignation. This type of thinking on the part of a 'Nationalist' Hindu Minister must have given Sheikh Sahib the

'Abdullah is Kashmir and Kashmir Abdullah'





(above) Sheikh Sahib speaking at a reception in Rawalpindi on 26-4-1964.
(below) Sheik Sahib addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi on 4-1-1968



A Picturesque Valley in Azad Kashmir.

shock of his life. But there was some thing worse in store. While Sheikh Sahib and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, his Revenue Minister, were in Gulmarg discussing the situation, they were arrested by Indian Army in the early hours of 9th August 1953. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad who had announced publicly only a few days earlier that allegiance to Sheikh Sahib was an article of faith with him, had been instrumental in the deposition of his very leader, and was in return appointed Prime Minister of the State. All the loyal officials and sincere political colleagues of Sheikh Sahib were also arrested. This led to a popular revolt which was crushed by Indian Army killing about 1100 people. This maltreatment to Sheikh Sahib and his colleagues gives an insight to Indias sinister designs as it was the same Sheikh Sahib about whom Mr. Nehru had said in 1946, "Abdullah is Kashmir and Kashmir is Abdullah. Who ever imprisons Abdullah imprisons Kashmir". He was also the same Abdullah whom Mr. Nehru had presented to the world as the sole representative of Kashmiris. But when it came to quenching his colonialistic thirst, Mr. Nehru not only deposed and arrested the same Abdullah but kept him in jail for ten long years.

It has usually been alleged that Sheikh Sahib was instrumental in States subjugation by India. That is not quite true. Firstly Sheikh Sahib was appointed the Emergency Administrator four days after the accession deed was signed and Indian troops sent to Kashmir. Had Sheikh Sahib resented these steps,

the accession would have come despite his resentment and in that case it would have most probably been unconditional and that would have been the end of the issue. Secondly, had not Sheikh Sahib acted as he did, the tragic story of Jammu would have been repeated in Kashmir Valley too. In Jammu, members of the militant Hindu Communal Organisation the R.S.S., and Dogra and Indian armies had butchered tens of thousands of Muslims and expelled from the State about half a million. Sheikh Sahib, immediately after taking charge as the Emergency Administrator raised a strong Militia Force of Kashmiri muslim youth which saved the civil muslim population of the Valley from being massacred by Indian army. Under the prevailing circumstances and in view of very attractive offers from India which apparently guaranteed a bright future for the State, Sheikh Sahib was perhaps left with no course other than what he chose. Yet he trusted Mr. Nehru far more than what a farsighted leader should have. It can therefore be safely said that Sheikh Sahib's doings of 1947 were not as great a blunder as is usually alleged. Instead Sheikh Sahib actually blundered in 1951. From 1947 to 1951 he was in a dictating position and Mr. Nehru conceded to him whatever he demanded. If he could convince Mr. Nehru to force the State ruler to abdicate, if he could make Mr. Nehru accept a constitution for the State which provided for a separate Head of the State, separate Prime Minister, separate National Flag and State Language and separate Civil and Penal laws for the

State and if Sheikh Sahib could persuade the Indian Constituent Assembly to accord a special status to Kashmir under article 370 of the Indian Constitution, he could well persuade Mr. Nehru to get Jammu & Kashmir declared a completely independent State and presence in the State of Indian forces could have continued for some time under a treaty between Kashmir and India as two independent nations. That would have brought the relations of India and Kashmir at par with those of India and Nepal and Kashmiris as an independent nation could ask India any time to withdraw her forces as has been done by Nepal. Nepal is, due to her typical geographical position, almost completely dependent on India whereas the position of Kashmir is quite different. Under international law, no country can continue to keep her forces in another free country against the latter's will. Hence India would have been compelled to withdraw her forces the moment and independent Kashmir would have asked her to do so. Even Mr. Nehru and his representative at the United Nations had more than once, declared publicly that Kashmir had a right to declare itself as an independent State. But Sheikh Sahib framed a constitution keeping the sovereignty of the State in ambiguity. Under that constitution, Kashmir was neither an independent State nor a province of India as, on one hand, the location of sovereignty was not made clear and the constitutional position of presence in Kashmir of Indian forces kept ambiguous, and on the other hand there could not be two Heads of the State, two Prime

Ministers and two national flags within one dominion. This flaw in the State constitution coupled with Sheikh Sahib's blind faith and unqualified reliance on Mr. Nehru and his apparent sincerity towards Kashmiris threw Kashmir into the quagmire of continuous servitude. This is where Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah actually erred. Had he made a better use of his strong position to constitutionalise the independence in clear and unambiguous terms, had he judged India's actual and nefarious designs in time and had he made a better use of then prevailing favourable international circumstances, Kashmir would have achieved independence quite easily. Instead, this blunder on the part of the Shere-Kashmir subjected his people to a continuous chain of unending trials and tribulations. Never-the-less, keeping in view the earlier and subsequent sacrifices offered by him for the cause of Kashmir's freedom, this blunder is venial. He has sacrificed his all for his nation and has preferred to undergo heavy odds including fourteen years' incarceration whereas he could have aquired the highest public office in India or in Kashmir had he consented to part-with the overall interests of his people. His forty-year political career presents, despite quite a few omissions and commissions; most of them committed in good faith; a unique example of a mixture of selflessness, determination, boldness and patriotism of highest order. Very few leaders of the Subcontinent possessed all these qualities at a time. Not-with-standing these facts, history has yet to give its final verdict about this great yet most

controversial personality of the subcontinent. The final judgement will perhaps be given in the light of the shape that Kashmir issue is finally going to take as also keeping in view his achievements and failures during the remaining part of his life.

After cease-fire was imposed in Kashmir on first January 1949, the issue shifted its venue from battlefield to the U.N. headquarters. Debates followed and world records of lengthy speeches were established with no practical progress towards holding a plebiscite in the State as provided under UN resolutions of 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949. With passage of time, very insignificant and irrelevant matters barred the progress. Efforts to get the issue solved through the United Nations finally proved an exercise in futility. Not only did the apparent impotency of the United Nations put the dispute to cold-storage but subjected the people of Kashmir to continuous alien subjugation- (The history of Kashmir issue at the UN is dealt with in Chapter 3). In the mean time Indian and Pakistani leaders held occasional negotiations on the issue but neither Jinnah-Mountbatten talks of October 1947, Liaquat-Nehru parleys of 1950, Nehru-Mohammad Ali talks of 1953, Ayub-Nehru discussions of 1960 nor Bhutto Swaran Singh negotiations of 1963 bore any useful results mainly due to India's intransigence and obduracy. Even the Indo-Pak war of 1965 proved resultless. The Tashkent Declaration of Jan, 1966 pushed the issue deeper

into the ocean of international political juggleries. Kashmiris as a party to the issue were got removed from the international scene at the very outset by the vested interests hence they were unable to play any part either at the Security Council or in other international forums. Some Kashmiri leaders did participate in the UN debates directly or indirectly but they were simply playing the role of puppets dancing at the directions of India or Pakistan since they were participating not as Kashmiris but as members of Indian or Pakistani delegations.

Debarred from international scene, Kashmiris concentrated on their struggle from within the State on both sides of the cease-fire line. In India-held part, India used all the tactics and devices that imperialist powers usually use to crush freedom movements. Freedom fighters were crushed politically and economically and subjected to unimaginable physical and mental tortures. But neither the iron hand and barbarian atrocities nor temptations of power and wealth succeeded in killing their urge for freedom.

There are several political parties in India-held part of the State. Of these the All Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front headed by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg is the most popular one and is also supported by Sheikh Sahib. The Plebiscite Front stands for right of self-determination for the people of the State. Another active party, the Awami Action

Committee headed by Maulana Mohammad Farooq, a youngman belonging to late Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah's family, is well known for its pro-Pakistan leanings. The Pardes Congress, the State branch of pro-Mrs. Gandhi Indian National Congress is the 'ruling party' of the State but it owes its very existence to presence in Kashmir of Indian forces and official machinery specially the Election Commission and not to any support from the masses. The Jan-sangh, a Hindu communalist organisation, enjoys some support in Hindu majority areas of Jammu. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's National Conference has somewhat vague policy. The Jammu Autonomy Forum, an organisation of intellectuals, headed by Mr. Balraj Puri advocates autonomy for Jammu province.

Kashmir is heavily indebted to those noble sons who offered all possible sacrifices for their national emancipation. Such was Kashmiris enthusiasm and determination that, as confirmed by a foreign neutral observer of great integrity, not one of the 21 martyrs of 13th July 1931 had received bullets in his back. All had taken them on their chests. Among the people who formed the vanguard of freedom movement of 1931 were Khwaja Saaduddin Shawl, Mirwaiz Yousuf Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Agha Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Khwaja Shahabuddin, Khwaja Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, Mistri Yaqoob Ali, Sardar Gauhar Rehman, Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar, Molvi Abdullah, Molvi Abdul Rahim and others. Among

those who joined the movement later were Mohammad Saeed Masoodi, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, G.M. Sadiq, Ghulam Mohiud-din Kara, Sardar Budh Singh, Kashap Bandoo, Chaudhary Hamidullah Khan, A. R. Saghar, Soofi Mohammad Akbar and others. There are thousands more who offered exemplary sacrifices to water the seeds of freedom movement. Unfortunately anyhow, some of these veterans later deviated from their original path and joined the camp of vested interests. Nevertheless their contribution to freedom movement cannot be denied.

Circumstances on this side of the cease-fire line were different from those prevailing in India-held part of the State. The main, rather sole purpose of establishment of the Azad Government was to continue the struggle for liberation of the entire State through this government. But tbe Azad Kashmir Government could not, for various reasons, paly the part that it was created for. The foremost reason for it was that the United Nations did not recognize this government as a revolutionary government of the State. Surprisingly, Pakistan also did not try much to make the Azad Government a party to the issue. She was not even consulted while imposing cease-fire nor was she a party to the discussions, debates and negotiations that took place from time to time between India, Pakistan and the U.N. Even the Plebiscite Administrator was to work under the Srinager Government. Had the issue been tackled

Four of the Founders of Freedom Movement



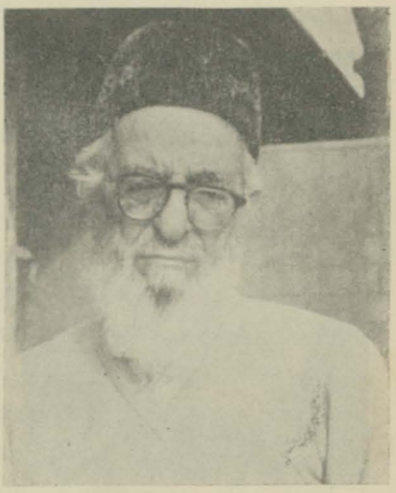
Khwaja Saaduddin Shawl



Noor Shah Naqshbandi



Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar



Mistri Yaqoob Ali

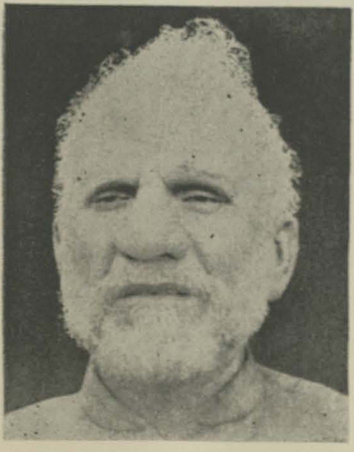
Four of the Early Soldiers of Freedom-Fight



Molvi Mohd. Hussain



Mufti Ziauddin



Mir Hussain Bukhsh



Mohammad Zaman Abbassi

with a better understanding, the Azad Government could have well played a significant part as did the Provisional Government of Algeria although the latter did not have even an inch of land under her practical control and was functioning in a hotel in Cairo.

Second and more unfortunate reason was that after the cease-fire, two factions of the ruling party in Azad Kashmir i.e. the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, headed by Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan and Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas respectively, fell out over the Presidentship of Azad Kashmir. This resulted in a very unfortunate state of affairs and the struggle for power in Azad Kashmir between the two leaders gradually overshadowed the freedom movement. Each faction worked against the other and the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs of the Government of Pakistan played the role of the proverbial monkey. This tug still continues though in a different manner and between different parties and leaders. This state of affairs has given an irreparable setback to the freedom struggle.

Third reason for failure of the Azad Government to play its destined role was that the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs of the Government of Pakistan took over the practical control of Azad Kashmir. The Azad Kashmir Regular Forces were taken over by Pakistan Government and the civil administration given under the control of the Secretary General of the Azad Kashmir Government who used to be a member of Pakistan

Civil Service. The Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs used to be the Chief Advisor to Azad Kashmir President and his 'advice' could not be ignored by the latter. All these uncalled-for steps brought the Azad Government down to the level of a district administration though in theory it was a separate government.

Yet another reason for failure of the Azad Government to play its due role has been its very undemocratic nomenclature. The President and his Ministers worked at the sweet-will of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. Except for about three years, there has never been a peoples elected government in Azad Kashmir during the last 23 years. The Rules of Business and the Azad Kashmir Acts of 1964 and 1968 imposed by the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs in Azad Kashmir deprived its people of all their political rights. Nevertheless, the Government of Pakistan is not solely responsible for it. Kashmiri leaders are equally to be blamed for the unfortunate state of affairs as their lust for power has proved instrumental in killing the very basic purpose of establishment of the Azad Government.

Kashmiri leadership on this side of the cease-fire-line has not behaved in a way befitting of the leaders of a freedom-fighting nation. These leaders are devoid of spirit of sacrifice, revolutionary ideas and selflessness, the qualities that form the very basic necessities for the leaders of a struggling nation. As

a matter of fact the Azad Kashmir Presidentship after which these leaders always run, has become the main bar between them and sound leadership. Out of power, they make lofty promises to do this and to do that for liberation of Kashmir if they come to power, but once they sit on the 'Presidential Chair' they spend most of their energy to strengthen their own position. All these leaders have headed the Azad Government once or twice but none of them ever bothered to take a practical step towards national liberation. 23 year history presents only one feable effort made towards breaking the deadlock in the Kashmir issue and that was the Kashmir Liberation Movement (KLM) launched by late Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas in 1958. The bulk of second rank leadership has been corrupted by the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs through grant of import licences etc. as political bribes with the result that they can not criticise even the most destructive actions of the Ministry. Nevertheless, the younger generation seems to be a different one. They are patriotic, energetic and revolutionary and once they get a revolutionary and selfless leadership, they will definitely offer high sacrifices for their national emancipation. This much-sought leadership is slowly emerging and it will not be long before the old selfish, power-hungry and easy-going leadership is replaced by a revolutionary, selfless and active one.

The people of Gilgit and Baltistan revolted against the despotic ruler in 1947 and freed about 30

thousand sq. miles of the State area without any help from outside. From November 2, 1947 (When the people deposed and arrested the Dogra Governor of the Province, Brigadier Gansara Singh) to November 19, 1947, Gilgit was a Republic. On November 19, the Government of Pakistan sent her Political Agent to Gilgit who tookover the control of the area. Since then Gilgit and Baltistan are administered by Government of Pakistan through a Resident. The people of these areas have been kept away from "Kashmir Politics" for the last 18 years. The Frontier Crimes Regulations commonly known as black law which almost bars political activity, continues to be in force despite strong resentment against it. Neither is Gilgit Biltistan administratively and politically connected with Azad Kashmir nor have the Kashmiri political parties been allowed to function in these areas.

Despite all these handicaps and their leaders' involvement in dirty quarrels over impotent Presidentship of Azad Kashmir, Kashmiri political parties in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan have been contributing their bit through press and platform towards keeping the issue alive although they have failed to take any practical step towards national emancipation. But for their involevment in petty politics aiming at subduing each other, they could well play an effective role in freeing their homeland from forced foreign domination. In 1958, late Choudhary Ghulam Abbas started a movement of peaceful



96 Kashmiri political workers and students were arrested in Karachi on 9-5-1965. 8 of them were sent to Central Jail. Photo shows them with friends on their release. They are (L to R garlanded) A. Ghaffar (PF) Malik Rashid (PF) G. Rasool (MC) Mir A. Qayyum (PF) Mumtaz Abbassi (MC) G. M. Banka (PF) Amanullah Khan (PF) and K. G. Hassan (LL)



Plebiscite Front Members Demonstrating in Karachi 1966.



Plebiscite Front Procession during Mirpur Convention 1968.

mass-march accross the cease-fire-line, but the movement was crushed by Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan the then President of Azad Kashmir at the instance of Pakistan Government then headed by Malik Feroz Khan Noon. In 1961 Mr. K.H. Khurshid the first ever elected President of Azad Kashmir started a move to get the Azad Govt. recognized internationally as the sole representative govt. of the entire State. Although this slogan received over 55 percent of the total number of votes in the 1961 Presidential elections of Azad Kashmir (Votes cast for Mr. Khurshid and Peer Ali Jan Shah both of whom had presented recognition as their election manifesto) the idea did not find much favour with the Govt. of Pakistan. Mr. Khurshid was removed from the Presidentship two years before the expiry of his tenure. In 1963 some young educated Kashmiris formed an organisation, the Jammu and Kashmir Independence Committee which advocated independence of the entire State as an alternative political solution of the issue. This organisation also could not function for long. In recent years, a trend for guerrilla war against India has gained momentum due to failure of peaceful efforts.

At present about half a dozen Kashmiri political parties are functioning in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan. The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference headed by Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayum Khan and Azad Muslim Conference headed by Sardar

Mohammad Ibrahim Khan favour Kashmir becoming a part of Pakistan. The Jammu and Kasmir Liberation League headed by Mr. K.H. Khurshid demands recognition of the Azad Kashmir Govt. as the sole representative government of the entire State and ultimate accession of the State to Pakistan. The persent heads of all the three organisations are ex-Presidents of Azad Kashmir. The Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front (for Azad Kashmir and Pakistan) stands for unlimited and unconditional right of self-determination for the peole of the State which they interpret as Kashmiris right to choose between accession to Pakistan or India and independence of the entire State. This organisation which basically believes in and has evolved a system of collective leadership, is presently headed by Mr. Maqbool Ahmed Butt, a young Kashmiri from Trehgam, Inian-held part of the State. He had organised an underground resistence movement in India-held Kashmir but was captured by the Indian army in September 1966, sentenced to death in August 1968 and pending execution, succeeded in escaping from Srinagar Central Jail in December 1968 and crossed over to Azad Kashmir. Beside the above mentioned four parties, there are some other organisations also but their sphere of influence is very limited.

Two of the veteran Kashmir leaders Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas Khan and Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah passed away in Rawalpindi on 18 December, 1967 and 8th December, 1968 respectively. Despite

Four of Kashmir's Illustrious Sons



Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas



Mirwaiz Mohd. Yousuf Shah

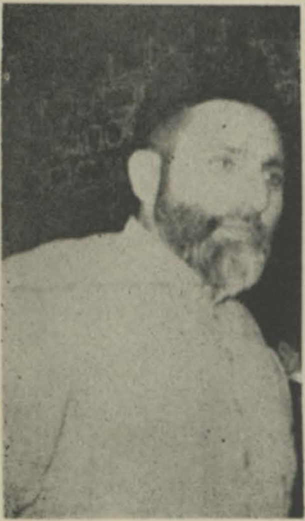


Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg



Maulana Mohd. Farooq

Four of the Vanguarders of Freedom Movement



Mohd Saeed Masoodi



A.R. Saghar



Mir Maqbool Gilani



Khawaja Abdul Rahim

some omissions and commissions on their part, Kashmir owes a lot to these illustrious sons.

Some others who were in the vanguard of freedom movement in its early stage, also died in Pakistan after 1947. Among them were Mistri Yaqoob Ali, Choudhary Hameedullah Khan, Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan, Molvi Mohammad Hussain and Mufti Ziauddin. Another veteran Moham mad Amin Shah was killed during the Jammu genocide of 1947. Among those who are now living in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan are Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar, Sardar Gauhar Rahman, Molvi Abdul Rahim (Three of the first six political detenues of 1931, the other three being Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas and Mistri Yaqoob Ali), A. R. Saghar, Chaudhary Abdullah Khan Bhalli, Sheikh Abdul Hameed, Sheikh Ghulam Qadir, Mir Maqbool Gilani, Ghulam Haider Ghauri, Abdul Majeed Qarshi, Munshi Merajuddin, Haji Wahabuddin and many others including those who went to oblivion after the movement attained full momentum. Most of these veterans have now left the field of active politics. Nevertheless their valuable contribution to the freedom movement during those early and difficult years is praiseworthy and meritorious.

Among old Kashmiris who extended valuable support to Kashmiris freedom movement from outside in its early stage, were Dr. Mohammad Iqbal,

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Nawab Saleemullah of Dacca, Maulana ChiraghHassan Hasrat, Dr. Saifuddin Kichloo, Mian Ameeruddin, Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Shiekh Sadiq Hassan, Pundit Panth, Mohammad Din Fauq, K. B. Shaikh Rahim Bukhsh and many others. Kashmir is heavily indebted to them all.

Among the people from outside the State who extended valuable and effective support to Kashmiris were the Ahrars of the Punjab. Among the individuals, the valuable services of Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmood Ahmad, Moulana Zafar Ali Khan, Khwaja Hassan Nizami and Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik cannot be forgotten. The papers that played an effective part in accelerating Kashmiris freedom movement were the 'Kashmir Magazine', 'Zamindar' 'Siyasat' and 'Inqilab' of Lahore.

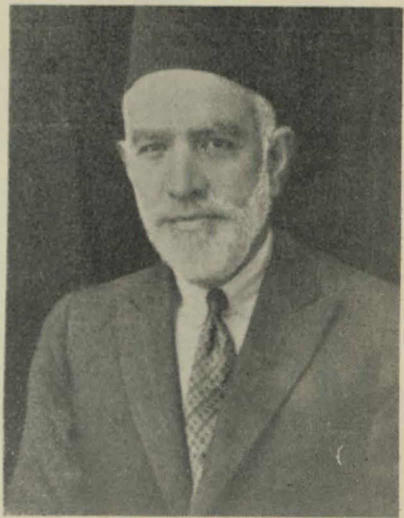
It will perhaps amount to doing injustice to the freedom movement, if the events that took place before 1931 are not mentioned at some length since they form a sort of prologue to the story of popular upheaval of the Thirties.

Gulab Singh died in 1857 and was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh. Ranbir Singh, who ruled the State until 1885 was a cruel man. Pundit Prem Nath Bazaz, a well known historian of Kashmir says, "As early as in 1877 A. C. during the days of the great famine, a memorandum was steathily submitted to the British Viceroy at Delhi by some unknown

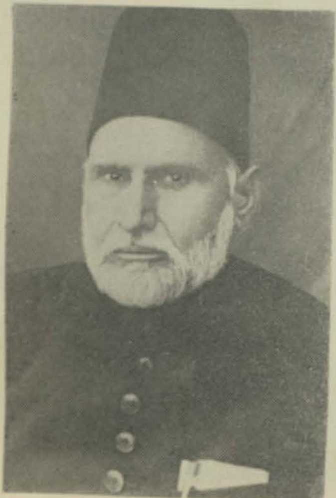
They Contributed a Lot Towards Freedom of Their Ancestral Motherland



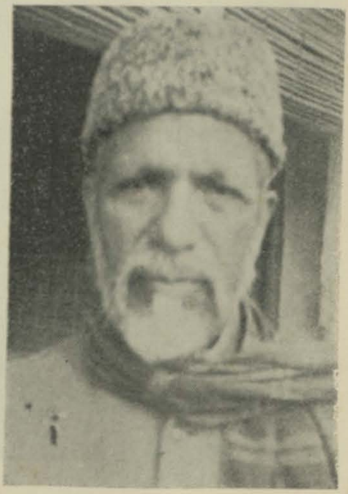
Dr. Sir Mohd Iqbal



K. B. Rahim Bukhsh



Mohammad Din Fauq



Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar



Oberoi Palace Hotel Srinagar.



Nehru Park Srinagar.

Kashmiris, making specific charges against Ranbir Singh. The memorandum was never published in full. Parts of it which were subsequently quoted by some informed British writers in their books show that certain charges levelled were very grave in character. It was said that in order to save the expense of feeding his people during the famine, the Maharaja actually drowned his poor Muslim subjects by boat-loads into the Volar Lake". It was during this famine that a big section of Kashmir's population migrated towards the Punjab, Delhi and U. P. The Butts, Dars, Khwajas, Mirs, Lones, Bandeys, Mintos Kauls, Nehrus, Sharmas, Wanis and Rathores of the Punjab and U. P. are descendants of the Kashmiris who migrated to these areas during the great famine.

Ranbir Singh's son Partap Singh ruled the State from 1885 to 1925. Being an opium-edict, he was not a strong man and was, for some time, deprived of all his powers by the British. In 1924 when the Viceroy of India Lord Reading was on a visit to Srinagar, a memorandum was presented to him on behalf of Kashmiri Muslims. The memorandum which was signed by a number of Muslims including Khwaja Saaduddin Shawl, Noor Shah Naqshbandi, Agha Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Hassan Shah Naqshbandi and two Mirwaizs, demanded:

1. Proprietary rights to farmers over their lands,

2. Greater representation to Muslims in State Services,

3. Educational facilities to Kashmiri Muslims

4. Forced labour to be abolished,

5. Extension of Cooperative department and

6. Restoration to Muslims of the mosques that were under possession of the Government.

A committee was appointed to inquire into the matter but it reported that there was no substance in the 'allegations' that the memorandum contained. The Maharaja crushed the signatories of the memorandum with a stern hand. The two Mirwaizs were deprived of the official privileges, the jagir and property of Agha Syed Hussain Shah were confiscated and Khwaja Saaduddin Shawl and Noor Shah were exiled from the State. Some youth including some Government servants, among them being Khwaja Maqbool Pundit, Khwaja Ali Shah and Mir Maqbool Gilani, had played an effective role in preparing and submitting the memorandum.

Exiled from the State, Khwaja Saaduddin Shawl and Noor Shah Naqshbandi came to Lahore where they continued their struggle with the help of some prominent old Kashmiris including Dr. Iqbal, K. B.

Rahim Bukhsh (Retd. General Haji Iftikhar's father), Mian Ameeruddin and Mohammad Din Fauq. This resulted in formation of All India Kashmir Committee which played an effective role in strengthening Kashmiris freedom movement.

In Jammu, Muslims had formed a social welfare organisation called the Young Mens Muslim Association. Though purely a social organisation, the YMMA played an effective role in political awakening and organisation of Jammu Muslims. Anjuman-e-Itfal-e-Islam, a Muslim youth organisation also was very active. It was headed by Ghazi Ismail Shaheed and its Secretary was Mir Abdul Qayyum. Two incidents, one of prohibiting Khutba in a mosque and the other of sacrilege of holy Quran by a Hindu in the jail blasted the smouldering embers and Muslims rose in open revolt against dogra tyranny. One Mir Hussain Bukhsh (Mir Mannan's uncle) scolded the police officer prohibitting the Khutba so much that the officer ran away from the place and the Khutba was continued. The incident of 13th July 1931 in Srinagar encouraged Jammu Muslims and they intensified their struggle. Out of the movement emerged two leaders Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas and A. R. Saghar, the first a cool thinker and the second a class orator. In co-operation with the Muslim leaders of the Valley, these leaders marched on to cow down the autocratic ruler within a few years, to concede to the Muslims of the State, a number of social, religious, economic and

political rights. The movement is, anyhow, yet to achieve its ultimate goal.

This is in short the story of Kashmiris' political struggle. History can provide only a few instances where a nation so ruthlessly suppressed has fought for its freedom so courageously and with such determination and constancy.

CHAPTER III

KASHMIR ISSUE —

Some Ugly Aspects

The twenty-three-year long history of Kashmir issue is a story of betrayals and deceptions, of misusing trust and confidence, of exploitation of religious and racial sentiments and of sacrificing humanitarian values and freedom of a nation at the altar of national interests of big powers. It is a story of shameless effrontery and conspiratory collusions, a woeful tale of right being throttled by might, an undeniable proof of the United Nations serving the cause of big powers only and a story of two resourceful neighbours of a smaller nation fighting over the proprietorship of her land depriving her of her own right to keep it for herself. It is also the story of ruffians, desperadoes and predators forcibly and fraudulently entering Kashmir,

posing to be her saviours and protectors. In nutshell it is one of the poignant paradoxes of recent history. Let us just peep into this Pandoras Box to have a glimpse of the savages, brutes, conspirators and moral criminals sitting in it in the guise of saviours, benefactors and wellwishers.

Mention of these ugly aspects of Kashmir issue is anyhow in no way intended to unduly vilifying or defaming India, akistan or the Security Council but to bring on record the real facts that have mainly contributed to Kashmiris' present miserable plight.

1. THE CRIMINAL COLLUSIONS

When the British finally decided to quit the subcontinent and announced the programme of division of British India into the dominions of India and Pakistan, the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League, the two main political parties of the Subcontinent, developed, besides other differences of opinion on the mode of the division, a big tussle over the issue whether the rulers or the people of the princely states should decide about the future alignments of these states. The National Congress pleaded that the right should vest with the people whereas the Muslim League wanted it to be given to the rulers. These divergent views apparently indicated that whereas the Mulim League had a softcorner for the princes, the Congress advocated the right of the

people to decide about the all important issue, but in fact these were shrewd strategies of both the organisations to bring about accession to India or Pakistan of the controversial states like Hyderabad Kashmir, Junagarh, Manawadar and Mangrol, the majority of whose population belonged to a faith different from that of their respective rulers. Congress wanted Hyderabad, Junagarh Manawadar and Mangrol to accede to India by virtue of their Hindu majority, whereas the Muslim League expected of Hyderabad to emerge as a friendly independent nation and of the Muslim rulers of Junagarh, Manawadar and Mangrol to accede to Pakistan. About Kashmir State, Congress leaders thought they could get away with it through intrigues and with the help of the Hindu ruler and the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, the counterpart of the Congress in the State. On the other hand Muslim League leaders expected of Kashmir to fall into Pakistan's lap by dint of its overwhelming Muslim majority.

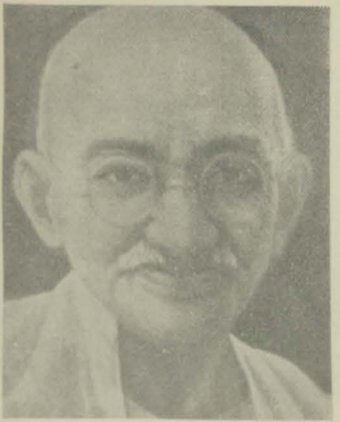
The British rulers accepted Muslim League view but advised the princes that they should take decisions regarding future of their respective states keeping in view the geographical position, economic interests, and the will of the people. This was a great setback received by the Congress, since it was apt to cause independence of Hyderabad and accession to Pakistan of Junagarh, Manawadar and Mangrol States. Kashmir also could go to Pakistan due to its contiguity with and economic dependence on Pakistan

as also for it Muslim majority. But Congress leaders explored other ways to save India from the "loss" of these states. They resorted to intrigues, conspiracies and use of force. Their main attention was on Hyderabad and Kashmir.

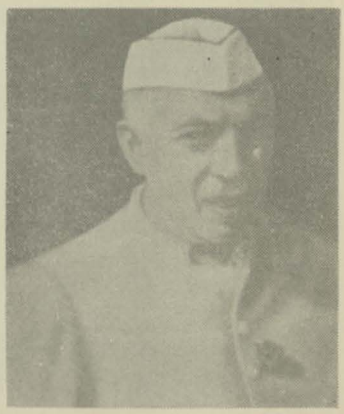
Mr. Gandhi paid a visit to Kashmir on First August 1947. It was not a trip to preach Ahinsa nor a vacation on medical advice but a business tour. In Kashmir the first thing he did was to meet Swami Sant Dev, the ruling family's spiritual mentor. Both Maharaja and his wife were his votaries and always acted upon his advice, hence he was known as the Rasputin of Kashmir Court. Through him Mr. Gandhi prevailed upon the Maharaja to accede to Indian Union. The reason of Mr. Gandhi's success can be judged from the report of his visit that he sent to Mr. Nehru and V.B. Patel.

Whereas Mr. Gandhi had used all his wits and exerted all possible pressure on the Maharaja to even the ground for Kashmir's accession to India, he issued a godly statement on his return from the State saying that whatever the ruler might like, whatever suited India's interests and whatever Pakistan might aspire for, was immaterial. All that mattered, he said, was the will of the people of the State, expressed without coercion or pressure from within or without. Mr. R.C. Kak the first Kashmiri Prime Minister of the State, who was all out for States independence, was removed from his post on 11th August 1947 in accordance with the

Four of the Six Main Actors of 1947 Drama in Kashmir



Mahatama Gandhi



Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru



Lord Mountbatten



Maharaja Hari Singh



Gulmarg.



Poplar Avenue.

understanding reached at between Mr. Gandhi and the Maharaja. He was succeeded by General Janak Singh who proved unfit for the conspiratory duties that he was to perform and was hence replaced by Mr. Mehar Chand Mahajan on 15th October 1947. Recalling his activities during those hectic days Mr. Mahajan says, "I had discussions in New Delhi with Patel, Baldev Singh and Nehru on the trems on which the Maharaja of Kashmir might accede to India and the day after I became the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Mr. V. P. Menon advised me to bringabout Kashmir's accession to India if I possibly could. On the same day, Lord Mountbatten, while evidently thinking it possible that Kashmir would in fact go to Pakistan, yet said that, as Governor General of India he would be very happy if I advised the Maharaja to accede to India". Immediately after Mahajan took over as the Prime Minister of the State, plans were secretly drawn and hurriedly implemented to construct roads and bridges to link Jammu with Indian territory. Earlier Mr. Mahajan had worked hard, as a member of the Boundary Commission to get the Muslim majority tehsil of Gurdaspur awraded to India to provide the latter with an inlet to Kashmir.

Mr. Gandhi and Mahajan paved the way but the actual job was done by Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary for States, Government of India. He was a trusted friend of Mr. Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister and had gained 'reputation' for his art of manoeuvring. Mr. Patel was confident that his

confidant would do the job most efficiently. Mr. Menon paid successive visits to Kashmir and used all his wits and recipes of flattering, threatening and black-mailing to persuade the ruler to accede to India. The Maharaja was wavering for quite some time and in his heart of hearts wanted to remain independent having friendly relations with both India and Pakistan. He had signed a stand-still agreement with Pakistan Government and wanted to sign one with India too but Indian leaders refused to do it thinking that that might create hinderences in their efforts to annex Kashmir through force and conspiracies. This was indicative of Indias evil intentions regarding Kashmir.

When the militant people of Poonchh came to know of behind-the-scene activities aiming at Kashmir's accession to India, they rose in revolt against the ruler. On October 4, 1947, one Anwar (Ghulam Nabi Gilkar, a Muslim Conference leader from Srinagar) announced in Rawalpindi that he had formed a Provisional Government of the State. On October 24, 1947, Radio Pakistan announced re-organisation of the Azad (free) Government of Jammu and Kashmir which was now headed by Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, a young Barrister from Poonchh. Two days earlier, tribesmen from the North Western Frontier Province of Pakistan had entered the State to save Kashmiri Muslims from falling a prey to Hindu communalists who were fully engaged in extermination of Muslims in Jammu

province. An undisciplined mass of warriors the tribesmen did not maintain the high standard of morality which is expected of the people who come to the rescue of a suffering nation. This gave the ruler a lame excuse to ask India for a defensive umbrella. Indian leaders pre-conditioned it to accession of the State to India. In despair the Maharaja left the capital and fled to Jammu on 25th Oct. 1947 where Mr. V. P. Menon appeared with the draft of the conditional "instrument of accession" and forced the ruler to sign it and the latter was left with no alternative but to capitulate and he made a mention of it in the 'deed'. And within a few hours of signing of the 'deed' by Harisingh, Indian forces which had been kept ready for the purpose, landed in Srinagar. Thus began a new ara of sufferings and victimisation of Kashmiris which still continues. Judging from any angle, this conspiratory action on the part of Indian leaders was by no means an act of accession but one of forced acquisition.

This is in short the story of the so-called "accession" of Kashmir to India. The "instrument of accession" which Indian moralists have been presenting to the world as a 'deed' of Kashmir's proprietorship was nothing but a conditional 'agreement' acquired through fraud, deceit, blackmail and coersion and the conditions of the agreement i.e. determination of the future of the State through freely expressed will of the people, never fulfilled.

2. MOUNTBATTENS INTRIGUES.

Never in history has perhaps any foreign statesman taken so much of personal interest in getting a nation subjugated by another as Lord Mountbatten took to thrust Indias overlordship on Kashmiris.

Lord Mountbatten a close relative of British Royal family, was the last Viceroy of British India. On the eve of the division of the Subcontinent into the dominions of India and Pakistan, the Congress leaders, in order to make favourable use of his lust for power, recommended him for the position of the first Governor General of Free India. But that did not quench his thirst as he wanted to become the Joint Governor General of India and Pakistan. The Muslim League did not anyhow like the idea for various reasons and nominated Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as the first Head of the State of Pakistan. This enraged Mountbatten and he decided to take revenge as he took this decision of Muslim League as no-confidence on him as such an insult to himself. Since vengeance usually pursues crime, Mountbatten resorted to criminal conspiracies and uncalled-for manoeuvrings to damage the cause of the Muslims of the Sub-continent. Kashmir being the largest Muslim majority State, attracted his special attention.

The Maharaja of Kashmir and his Prime Minister, Pandit Ram Chand Kak wanted the State to remain

independent and seemed very eagre to announce their views officially even before 15th August, 1947 when the British Suzerainity over the states had to go. Having come to know of Maharaja's intentions, Mountbatten rushed to Kashmir to advise him 'not to decide in haste to repent in leisure'. Mr. Nehru had earlier sent a similar advice to Hari Singh. During the car-drive-parleys, Mountbatten made several attempts to get a commitment from the Maharaja, but the latter avoided. It was then decided that a short meeting would be held on the last day of Mountbatten's visit and an announcement made as per latter's advice and in the presence of the Prime Minister Kak, George Able, Private Secretary to the Viceroy and the Resident Col. Webb. It was also agreed upon that minutes of the meeting would be kept and officially announced. But on the fixed day the Maharaja, probably under pressure from his Prime Minister and after scenting the evil designs behind Mountbatten's keenness, sent a message to the Viceroy that, being confined to bed, he could not arrange or attend the meeting. This was an excuse to avoid a situation pregnant with far reaching adverse effects. So Mountbatten returned from Kashmir rather disappointed. He then persuaded Mr. Gandhi to visit Srinagar while he had earlier advised Quaid-e-Azam not to go to Kashmir. Mr. Gandhi did in Kashmir what Mountbatten had failed to do. He succeeded to a great extent in persuading the Maharaja not to make a hasty decision about

independence of the State and to make it sure that the moody ruler would not change his mind, Mr. Gandhi got Mr. Kak, the author of independence idea, removed from the Prime Ministership.

On the eve of the independence of the Sub-continent, Mountbatten had got the Muslim majority district of Gurdaspur divided (awarding even the Muslim majority tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala to India) through his friend Radcliffe, the Boundary Commission Chief. The entire district of Gurdaspur or atleast the Muslim majority tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala should have formed part of Pakistan but Mountbatten wanted to kill three birds with one stone. By awarding these tehsils to India, he on one hand deprived his enemy, akistan, of a large area and on the other hand provided India with access to Kashmir besides presenting her two rich tehsils. Had these tehsils come to Pakistan, India would have been left with no access through land, to Kashmir.

Having provided India with an inlet to Kashmir, Mountbatten used all his wits to get the State acceded to India. He was the master mind behind the collusions and manoeuvrings that Indian leaders resorted to in order to force Kashmir's accession to India.

When Indian Army landed in Srinagar on October 27, 1947 despite Pakistan's strong protests, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor General

of Pakistan decided to despatch his troops to Kashmir. The plan was that Pakistani forces enter Jammu from Sialkot and occupy the strip of land that linked the State with India. That would have completely paralysed Indian operations in Kashmir. The Quaid directed General Gracy the British Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army to arrange the operations immediately but the latter, under directions from Mountbatten expressed his inability to do it without permission from Field Marshal Auchinlek, the Supreme Commander of Indian and Pakistan Force. Mountbatten sent Anchinlek to Pakistan where the Field Marshal told the Governor General of Pakistan that if he did not withdraw his orders of sending Pak. forces to Kashmir, all British officers would quit Pakistan Army. This was a clear black-mailing to keep Pakistan from entering Kashmir. British officers still formed the top nucleus of Indian Army which was fully engaged in Kashmir. But Auchinlek never extended such a threat to India. Seeing that withdrawal of British officers from Pak. Army at that stage would cause an irreparable loss to his defence forces, the Quaid withdrew his orders and on Field Marshal's advice, suggested a meeting in Lahore between himself and Pundit Nehru to discuss the Kashmir problem to find a speedy and judicious solution. Mr. Nehru expressed his inability to fly to Lahore on the grounds that his medical adviser had prohibited him from undertaking air or land journey. On Quaid's insistence Lord Muntbatten flew to Lahore where the Governor General of Pakistan suggested a

three point formula for solving the issue. It was:-

1. To put an immediate stop to fighting, the two Governors General should be authorised and vested with full powers by both dominion Governments to issue a proclamation forthwith, giving forty-eight hours notice to the two opposing forces to cease fire. The Governor General of Pakistan has no control over the forces of the Provisional Govt of Kashmir or the tribesmen engaged in the fighting but he will warn them in the clearest terms that if they did not obey the orders to cease fire immediately, the forces of both Dominions will wage war on them.

2. Both the forces of Indian dominion and the tribesmen to withdraw simultaneously and with the utmost expedition from Jammu and Kashmir territory.

3. With the sanction of the two dominion Govts. the two Governors-General be given full powers to restore peace, under-take the administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State and arrange for a plebiscite without delay under their joint control and supervision.

This offer on the part of Pakistan, offering to going to the extent of fighting against Azad forces and tribesmen was an uncalled-for gesture from the point of view of Kashmiris' interests, yet there could

not be a more generous offer from Pakistan. But Mountbatten refused to make any commitment probably because such a commitment might have bound India to see reason.

By the end of December 1947, Indian forces had met heavy reverses in Kashmir and international public opinion was also getting more and more hostile towards India for her fraudulent actions in Kashmir. Lord Mountbatten advised Indian leaders who were divided on the subject, to take the issue of "Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir" to the United Nations. This was a clever move to hoodwink world opinion. So on first January 1948 India filed a complaint against Pakistan in the Security Council. But the head of the British delegation to the United Nations, Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, a Nobel Prize winner, a noble Englishman and a great supporter of humanitarian values and freedom of nations, took pains to draft the first resolution and pleaded for a judicious and speedy disposal of the issue on the basis of the wishes of Kashmiri people. This irritated Mountbatten so much that he exerted all his influence on the British Government and got Mr. Baker replaced by a favourable man. As his secretary Campbell Johnson says, "he (Mountbatten) feels that Attlee (the then Prime Minister of England) and Novel Baker do not seem to be showing themselves sufficiently alive to the psychological influence of the dispute". Mountbatten sent a threat to the British Government that India would quit British Commonwealth if British Govern-

ment continued her 'hostility' towards India at the United Nations. This threat had considerable effect and the British Government gradually changed its attitude towards the issue.

Mountbatten continued his anti-Kashmir ventures even after he left India. He got himself fully engaged in behind-the-scene activities during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in 1951 when the issue came up under discussion, and fully succeeded in sabotaging the possibilities of a solution. He has since been seizing all opportunities to torpedo the efforts made on international level to find a solution of the tangle. The Sino-Indian border conflict of 1962 was a good opportunity to force a solution of the imbroglio but Mountbatten again intervened. As the 'Times' London reported, "Misunderstanding between India and Britain has been nipped in the bud by the intervention of Lord Mountbatten and an attempt to use the Sino-India border war as a lever to force a settlement of Kashmir dispute, has been witten off."

Civility, affablity. justice and above all, history will condemn and curse Mountbatten for all that he did to subject the Kashmiri nation to Indias slavery. He repeated in 1947 what Lord Hardinge had done a century back, when the latter sold Kashmiris to Ghulab Singh like a commercial commodity. In the first transaction, the consideration was a sum of Rs. 7.5 million whereas in the latter it was Governor Generalship of 'Free India' to a 'British Lord'.

3. EXERCISE IN FUTILITY

The international political arena commonly known as the U.N. Security Council is more of an agency perpetuating slavery and instigating wars than an organisation vested with the sacred duty of maintaining peace with justice. Its criminal silence on Far-East issues has reversed the course of history to the age of savages and its immoral apathy towards implementing its own resolutions of November 1967 has subjected the entire Middle-East into an unending blood-bath. It claims of working for elevating human dignity but is practically silent about Rhodesia and South Africa where human-beings are treated as subhumans even per constitutions of these countries. Sacrificing right and justice at the altar of might and effrontery is a usual affair with it; pretends to be impotent when charged with the responsibility of coming to the rescue of a weaker nation facing oppression from a big one but its potency is supreme when it has to act in support of a superpower. The treatment that Kashmir issue received at the hands of this 'August body' bears clear testimony to the fact that the Security Council is an agency serving the cause of big powers at the cost of freedom of smaller nations.

India took the issue to the Security Council on first January 1948 and pleaded that Pakistan be declared aggressor in Kashmir. Pakistan followed with a counter-complaint and a series of charges and coun-

ter-charges started from both sides. Having heard both, the Council passed two resolutions one each on 17th and 20th January 1948. The first resolution asked India and Pakistan to take all measures to improve the situation and under the second resolution a commission, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was appointed and directed to proceed to the trouble-spot, study the state of affairs, report of any development of situation and examine the nature of Kashmir dispute. India thought of these steps to be harmful to her interests hence started creating hindrences in the way of the UNCIP through very shrewd delaying tactics. She engaged the Commission in irrelevant business by raising an objection here and finding an excuse there so much so that it 'could' not leave for the sub-continent until about six months after the 20th January resolution of the Security Council which had directed the Commission to proceed to the subcontinent 'as soon as possible'. The uncalled-for delay occured apparently in search of 'even handed justice' whereas in fact it was a 'heavy handed displomacy' to benefit India. It was an intriguing wastage of time at a juncture when Kashmir was burning and all that India needed was time to consolidate her position at the battle-field. Six long months could not be wasted had the Security Council or the UNCIP not continued giving in to India's irrelevant objections and delaying tactics. During these six months the stand of the Security Council also changed considerably. From a resolution calling for complete withdrawal

of Indian forces and Pakistani tribesmen from the State, the Security Council within four months came down to calling upon India to withdraw only such forces as were not required for maintenance of law and order in the State. Moreover who was to decide the quantum of Indian forces required for maintaining law and order in the State was not clarified hence the choice left to India. Whereas in January 1948 the President of the Security Council had suggested that the plebiscite was to be 'organized, held and supervised under the authority of the United Nations', by the end of April, establishment of a neutral adminis-tation in the State was ruled out and the Plebiscite Administrator made a functionary of Maharajas Government. What made the Security Council change its stand regarding such basic factors of the issue is not difficult to understand. India, claiming to be a neutral country and trying to assume the leadership of Afrasia, always sat on the fence vis-a-vis international issues involving big powers. This put her in a position where all big powers required her support at any cost. Thus she was in a strong position to bargain with them. She required their support to strengthen her otherwise awfully weak position regarding Kashmir and they obliged her by accepting all her undue demands at the Security Council Since most of the six non-permanent members used to be the camp followers of one power or the other, they followed the instructions of their campleaders. Though ostensibly it looked that the U N's impotency had emboldened India or Indias intransigence incapa-

citated the Security Council, but that was only an apparent posture of a high class diplomacy on the part of big powers aiming at strengthening India's position without taking the blame directly on themselves.

The UNCIP members reached Karachi on 5th July 1948 and were 'surprised' to see that the situation in Kashmir was quite different from what India and Pakistan had contended at the Security Council headquarters. Pakistan had of late sent her forces to Kashmir and India was acting in a way contrary to what she had stated at the United Nations. After some hectic activities, the Commission acquired consent of the parties on a resolution (of 13th August 1948) providing for a cease-fire, simultaneous withdrawl from the State of Pakistan forces and tribesmen and 'bulk' of Indian forces, followed by a plebiscite to determine the 'future status of the State'. Both India and Pakistan agreed to the plan and signed the resolution. The Commission returned to UN headquarters In the mean time some objections were raised by both India and Pakistan. Cease-fire was effected on first January 1949 and yet another resolution (a supplementary one to the resolution of 13th August 1948) was passed on 5th January 1949. The main feature of this resolution was that Kashmiris' choice was limited to accession to India or Pakistan thus eliminating the chances of independence of the State. This was a clear deviation from the basic principle of right of self-determination which can, as

interpretted under international law, neither be limited, conditioned, nor circumscribed. The UNCIP resolution of 5th January 1949 was therefore a successful attempt on the part of the vested interests to deprive Kashmiris of their rights to live as a free nation if they so chose.

Following cease-fire, it took the UNCIP seven long months for demarcation of cease-fire-line and posting of UN observers on it to check any violation by the parties. In the meantime, India, in a bid to avoid implementation of the two resolutions, started making her own interpretations of the contents of the resolutions and the UNCIP giving in to her obduracy and stubborn attitude, left the matter to Admiral Nimitz, the Plebiscite Administrator-designate. Realising that her effrontery was bearing fruit, India rejected this proposal as well. This created a crisis and the Security Council in place of pressing India to see reason, assigned the job to General Mc-Naughton of Canada and directed him to negotiate with the representatives of the two governments to evolve common interpretations. General Mc-Naughton made continuous efforts and a series of exchange of letters between him and the representatives of India and Pakistan continued for a long time but without any positive result and he reported to the Security Council of his failure to bring the two parties to an agreement on the disputed issues. Fifteen more months lapsed in the process.

In March 1950, the Security Council deviating from the very spirit of the resolutions of 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949 appointed Sir Owen Dixon to act as a mediator. Sir Owen Dixon visited the Subcontinent and arranged a meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan to find a solution to the issue, but the meeting proved friutless so far as making any progress in the matter was concerned. After some time he concluded that 'Indias agreement would never be obtained to demilitarization'. Strangely enough, in place of making further efforts to persuade and prevail upon India to agree to demilitarization of the State in accordance with the letter and spirit of the two resolutions agreed to by her, Sir Owen Dixon started deviating from the very basic theory of Kashmiris' right of self-determination. Had he failed to persuade India to see reason, he should have reported it to the Security Council but for the reasons best known to him, he started finding alternate solutions to the issue. With a philosophical prologue, he reported to the Security Council that according to his assessment of the situation, a plebiscite in the whole State was neither practicable nor necessary. Instead, he suggested Indian accupied part of Jammu province and Ladakh should go to India, Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan to Pakistan and a plebiscite be held in Kashmir Valley alone. This was a clear negation of the two basic principles involved in the issue, the 'will of the people' and 'indivisiblity and integrity of the State'. This plan anyhow could not be implemented for various and obvious reasons.

Sir Dixon wasted one complete year only to submit an absurd plan. Whether an intended attempt or an innocent omission, the Dixon plan badly confused the issue. Besides, due to wastage of so much of time, the issue lost its urgency only to benefit India who was in possession of two-thirds of the State territory. Indias obstinacy and Security Council's lack of active interest to get its own resolutions implemented had fully succeeded in pushing the actual issue to the background.

The Security Council met again in March 1951 and appointed Dr. Graham as UN representative to get the UNCIP resolutions implemented. Dr. Graham laboured for over 19 months but failed to obtain India's agreement to demilitarization. India had adopted new techniques and invented new excuses to bully the Council. Pakistan protested to Security Council against the Constituent Assembly that was being convened in Srinagar to frame a constitution for the State. India, just to kill time and hood-wink the Council, stated at the Security Council, 'Some members of the Council appear to fear that in the process, the Kashmir Constituent Assembly might express its opinion on the question of accession. The Constituent Assembly cannot be prevented from expressing its opinion if it so chooses. But this opinion will not bind my Government or prejudice the position of this Council'. Later another Indian representative reiterated that 'So far as the Government of India was concerned, the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir

was not intended to prejudice the issue before the Security Council or to come in its way'. The Council as usual, accepting India's point of view, let things go unchecked. A few years after these assurances, India used the very Constituent Assembly for what India terms as 'ratification of accession' and yet the Security Council did nothing to prevent India from doing so.

From 1951 to 1957 there was almost lull at the Security Council so far as this issue was concerned. In the meantime lot of developments had taken place in Kashmir. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah whom India had presented to the Security Council as the mouth-piece of Kashmiri people, was unconstitutionally and forcibly removed from the Prime Ministership of the State and put behind the bars alongwith his compatriots only because he had scented India's nefarious designs and was asking her to fulfil her pledges given to him, to Pakistan, to the Security Council and to the world at large.

When in 1957, India started taking steps to fully integrate the State under the cover of the 'ratification' by the fake consembly, Pakistan brought it to the notice of the Security Council. By then, India had acquired full support of the Soviet Union against Pakistan due to latters membership of SEATO and CENTO, the two American sponsored defence organisations. The Security Council, therefore failed to take any step on Pakistan's complaint due to Russian pressure as, a resolution calling upon India to refrain from the

steps that she was taking in Kashmir, was torpedoed by Soviet Union. The Security Council then appointed Mr. Gunar Jarring as second mediator. Mr. Jarring visited the subcontinent, confered with the officials of both countries and submitted his report on 29th April, 1957. Pointing out some defaults on the part of both India and Pakistan, Mr. Jarring suggested arbitration which India readily rejected because 'such procedure would be inconsistent with the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir and the rights and obligations of the Union of India in respect of this territory'. By now India had started backing out of all her pledges and commitments regarding the issue. The Security Council met again and drafted a resolution binding both India and Pakistan to implement the UNCIP resolutians of 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949 but it could not be adopted due to Russia's opposition. Thus all efforts, to make a headway failed. The Security Council again deputed Dr. Graham to make renewed efforts but this time with a vague and unauthoritative mandate. He visited the subcontinent, conferred with the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan and submitted his report in April 1958. In his report he made certain proposals including stationing a UN force in Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan after withdrawal of Pakistan forces, a conference of the heads of Governments of India and Pakistan and a declaration by both Governments re-affirming their keenness to respect the intigrity of the cease-fire line. All the proposals were accepted by Pakistan but rejected by

India. Dr. Graham had concluded with the 'hope' that the issue would be solved 'one day'. This was the last of the series of reports and proposals made by a UN representative.

In April/May 1962, the question came under discussion of the Security Council once more. On 22nd June 1962, the representative of Ireland submitted a draft resolution requesting the UN Secretary General 'to solve the Kashmir problem by using the provisions of the UN Charter, by negotiations, mediation, arbitration or any other mode of choice'. The resolution anyhow fell victim to Soviet Veto, the second on the issue.

The Indian Minister for Home Affairs announced on Nov. 27, 1963, measures to end the special constitutional status of Jammu & Kashmir. Pakistan once again protested to the Security Council which could do nothing except expressing the 'hope that the two parties would abstain from any act that might aggravate the situation and that they would take such measures as would re-establish an atmosphere of moderation between the two countries and also peace and harmony among the commonities'. This was not even a resolution but expression of a consensus.

The next and the last debate of the Security Council on the issue was during the Indo-Pak war of 1965. The first part of the 20th September 1965 resolution directed the parties to cease fire and the second

part urged 'settlement of the political problems underlying the present conflit'. The war, the world knew, was the direct off-shoot of Indo-Pak dispute on Kashmir, yet the Security Council felt shy of making a clear and open mention of the issue in its resolution with the result that immediately after ceasefire, Indians started harping on their old slogan of Kashmir being an integral part of India.

Refering to ceasefire in Kashmir, Admiral Nimitz had once said that, "that was the high water mark of agreement between the two countries". After reaching this 'high watermark' which was clearly in her favour, India made it a point that she would never allow a plebiscite to be held and the Security Council helped her in it through its apparent inability to impose a decision on her. Whether UN's apparent impotency had encouraged India or India's obstinacy handicaped the Security Council, the fact remains that the Security Council not only failed to solve this issue but put Kashmiris deeper into the quagmire of alien yoke. With due deference to those noble individuals at the Security Council, a few in number, who kept the spirit of the issue in mind while discussing it, it can the safely said on the grounds of the details of Council's attitude towards the issue, that this body has throughout been serving the cause of big powers and their interests in this part of the world, far more than it has been trying to have a chance afforded to 6 million people of Kashmir to shape their destiny.

It was this body which snatched the initiative of their freedom struggle from the people of Kashmir, imposod a ceasefire upon them, refused to treat Kashmiris as the real party to the issue, limited their right of self-determination to accession to India or Pakistan, kept silent while Kashmiris were being treated as sub-humans, punished them for the wrongs done by others, and above all perpetuated their thrawldom. Yet there are daydreamers in Kashmir and Pakistan who still expect of this 'August body' to solve the issue to their satisfaction.

4. KASHMIRIS PLIGHT

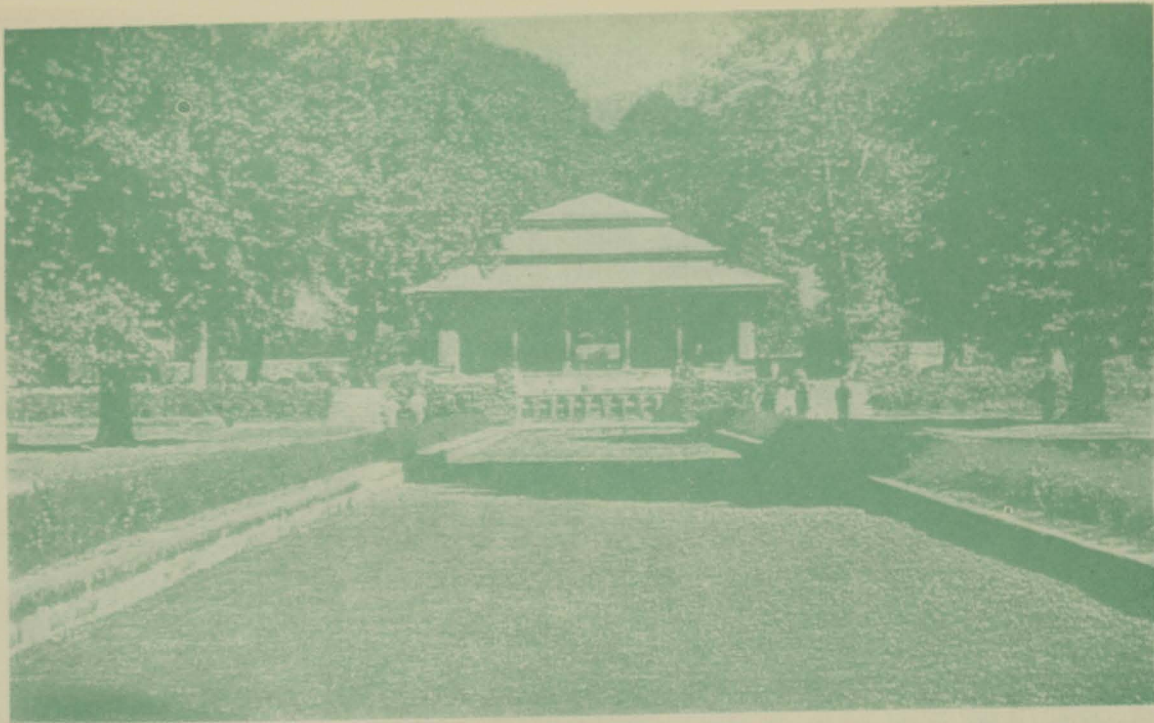
Apart from being deprived of the right to shape their future in accordance with their national aspirations, the people of Kashmir have been awfully subjected to cruelty and poverty, the twin-ills that are always attached to thrawldom and servitude.

India has been using all barbarian methods in her-held part to crush Kashmiris' urge for freedom. Tens of thousands of Kashmiri patriots have so far been victimised one way or the other During their detention, they are subjected to unimaginable physical tortures, their bodies ironed and electrified, peppers and chillis administered to their privities, beaten to unconsciousness, nails removed from their fingers, bunches of hair displanted and to such other cruelties which surpass in brutality even the treatment that detenues in Hitlers concentration camps used to

The Ruins Speak



Two scenes of the ruins of Muslim-populated Butmalu area of Srinagar which was completely destroyed by Indian Army in 1965 to crush its patriotic inhabitants.



Shalimar Gardens (Srinagar).

receive. Numerous patriots were shot dead. Youth particularly the students are the main victims. Even some leaders including Molvi Farooq were subjected to physical torture during their detention. About a dozen punitive laws like Preventive Detention Act, Enemy Agents Ordinance, Igress and Ingress Act, Defence of India Rules are in force. These 'laws' provide for detention for indefinite periods and without trial, of any person suspected of being opposed to India's forced occupation of Kashmir.

Democracy which India talks of so proudly, has a different meaning in Kashmir. Whereas Indian leaders themselves confess that an overwhelming majority of people are opposed to India, yet 90 percent seats are occupied by 'pro-India' candidates in the 'elections'. (Mr. Krishna Menon was once asked by a foreign diplomat during an informal chat as to why India was hesitating rather refusing to have a plebiscite held in Kashmir, 'Because we will lose it' was Mr. Menon's frank reply. The oft referred to 'elections' in the State were a hoax with all kinds of irregularities prevailing. Politically, there is complete suffocation. In economic field also, the people of independent thinking are subjected to heavy monitary losses on one pretext or the other and are deprived of their legimate economic rights.

On this side of the cease-fire-line i. e. in Azad Kashmir though there is nothing of the physical tortures of the kind that are in practice in India-

held part, and there have been a very few political detentions, yet things are not what they ought to have been. People do not enjoy due political rights and the Governments have not been representative of the people. Political victimisation of the people with independent thinking also exists though far lesser as compared to one prevailing in India-held part. In recent years a trend for subjecting to physical tortures and detentions ranging from months to years, of the people who cross over to Azad Kashmir from Indian occupied area, has gained strength. Even those who come in quest of help from their brethren on this side of the cease-fire-line for momentising the freedom movement in the held area, are not spared.

Economically, Azad Kashmir has remained far backward. Percapita income is miserably low. Heavy industry is foreign to this area. All that it has is a small number of cottage industries. Agricultural system is primitive and means of communication awfully poor. Even the District Headquarter of Poonchh, not to say of smaller towns, is without electricity although the power generated at Mangla, Mirpur Azad Kashmir reaches Pakistani towns hundreds of miles away from it. Although ostensibly there is complete freedom of press and platform, but this right is, more often than not, restricted to maligning and vilifying each other. Grant of declarations to the people and parties not favourably disposed to Government policies is usually denied. Demands concerning political or economic problems made by

the people even enbloc very seldom receive an active and favourable response from the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs which practically controls Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan.

Gilgit and Baltistan have suffered even more. Most of the areas particularly of Baltistan look primitive with no economic and political facilities befitting of a civilised society available. People continue to groan under the ignominious Frontier Crimes Regulations commonly known as black law which was introduced by the British about a century back to crush the tribesmen of North Western Frontier Province. This 'law' is frequently used for victimisation of people by officials even on personal grounds. Criticism on corrupt officials also brings the F. C. R. into action.

Postal correspondence between two sides of the cease-fire-line in Kashmir being banned, the people of Indian occupied area were completely cut off for ten long years from the people of Azad Kashmir and Kashmiris living in Pakistan. Father died in Srinagar and the son living in Lahore knew nothing about it for years together. Mothers tossed about restlessly to know the welfare of their dear sons. Wives knew not whether their husbands were alive or dead. A child born in 1947 is now 23 but has not seen his father who is in Pakistan. People could not join the funeral or marriage ceremonies of their nears and dears. This state of affairs prevailed for ten years. Even now

though the postal correspondence is allowed, it is beyond the reach of the common man to acquire a passport from Pakistan Government, a No Objection Certificate from the Srinagar 'Government' and a Visa from Indian Government which are the basic formalities for a Kashmiri living in Pakistan to fulfil in order to visit his home in Indian-held part. A man now temporarily living in Muzaffarabad (Azad Kashmir) has to, if he is fortunate enough to get the formalities completed, travel more than seven hundred miles of Pakistan, Indian and Kashmir territories to reach his original home in Baramulla (India-held part) which is actually at a distance of only 70 miles but is barred by the ignominious cease-fire-line. The U.N. Observers from Sweden, Holland and Canada run about freely from one side of the CFL to the other but moving between different parts their own homeland is being treated as an offence and Kashmiris subjected to severe tortures for committing this 'offence'. People of Gilgit Baltistan and Azad Kashmir are not allowed to visit occupied area even on a passport with the result that no youth upto the age of 23 years has seen that part of his motherland. An estimated twenty-five thousand families are divided with some members living in Indian held part and some in Azad Kashmir or Pakistan. Most of them have not seen each other for the last 23 years.

Can there be a greater injustice to a people? Should the humanitarian values be raped and laughed at like this, is a question that should have shaken the

conscience of those who are responsible for it, but the usurpers of Kashmiris' freedom are too materialist and modern to pay any heed to the primitve and out-dated phrases like conscience, morality and humanitarianism.

This in nutshell is the tragic story of the miserable plight which the people of Kashmir have been living in for the last 23 years.

5. THE JAMMU GENOCIDE

Twentieth century is usually termed as the century of an advanced society. Nay, it is not, not at all, for there are spots on its face that make it resemble with the age of savages, ruffians, bruts and predators, for this is an age where mass massacre of the people of a certain faith passes un-noticed and for, the jungle law of might throttling the right is still in force. Rest aside, the carnage of Muslims in Jammu province of Kashmir State at the hands of Hindu barbarians bears clear testimony to the contention of the present age being no different from the age of savages.

So horrifying are the details of the heinous deeds of the votaries of Gandhi and his Ahinsa that a man with humane feelings may faint, the flesh of even a stone-hearted man may creep to hear them, a future dishonest historian may discard them as a myth contending that such brutalities are foreign to the followers of Rama, Krishna, Guru Nanak, Gandhi and

Nehru, the messengers of peace and fraternity, and an honest one will surely term them as the blackest spot on the face of India's much talked about secularism. Riddling thousands of men, women and children with continuous bursts of machine-guns, raping hundreds of young girls to death, cutting off women's bosoms, testing swordsman-ship by cutting infant babies into pieces after huling them into the air, playing football with fresh human skulls, can be said of savage age only. This is what Rashtarya Sevak Sangh (R.S.S.) the Akali Dal, the Hindu soldiers and officers of Indian and State forces did in Jammu in 1947. The only fault of the victims was that they were Muslims.

The details of the carnage will in themselves make a voluminous book hence we shall give only two accounts, one, extracts of the report compiled by two Englishmen, one each nominated by Governments of India and Pakistan and the other by one Malik Aftab as an eye-witness account.

Following is the text of the report submitted by the two Englishmen to the Governments of India and Pakistan:—

"On the morning of November 5, it was announced by beat of drums in Jammu City, in the name of His Highness the Maharajah, that all Moslems must immediately leave the State and that, in fact, Pakistan had asked for them. They were

instructed to assemble at the parade ground in Jammu. Conducted from there to the police lines, they were searched, deprived of most of their belongings and loaded on motor lorry convoys. They were told they would be sent to Suchetgarh, but instead the convoys took the Kathua Road and halted at Mawa, where the passengers were told to get down.

"At Mawa, the lorry drivers, who were Sikhs and armed to the teeth, removed all the young women from the convoys and began to attack the remainder. The Kashmir State troops looked on indifferently while the mobs of Sikhs and Hindus were killing the Moslem refugees.

"Out of the four thousand Moslems, who had left Jammu, only nine hundred managed to reach Sialkot. It was in this attack that a daughter and a sister of Mr. Ghulam Abbas, President of the Kashmir Moslem Conference, were taken away by the attackers.

"A convoy of seventy trucks, containing most of the respectable Moslem families of Jammu City left for Suchetgarh on November 6. A few miles out of the city the trucks were halted and were attacked by armed Jathas of Sikhs and State troops and volunteers of the Rashtrya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

"During the beginning of October 1947, about fourteen thousand Moslems living in Sambha were

besieged by armed Hindus and Sikhs, who cut off the rations and water supply of the villages. On October 22, Sambha village was visited by His Highness the Maharaja himself and almost immediately after his visit all the Moslem women in the village were taken away by the State troops and the men were slaughtered with the exception of fifteen survivors, who escaped to Sialkot (Pakistan).

"About eight thousand Moslems assembled at the Bulla Tank near Kathua on October 20 after their request for protection had been ignored by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Kathua. After marching three miles towards the Pakistan border, they were encircled by Dogra troops and armed Sikh civilians and all of them were slaughtered with the exception of forty persons, who managed to escape to Sialkot.

"On the instructions of the State Government about twenty-five thousand Moslems from Miran Sahib area collected at Maogaon to be evacuated to Pakistan. But as they were doing so, their women and all their personal belongings were taken away from them by Dogra troops and the rest made to stand in a line, whereupon they were riddled with machine-gun bullets. Only about two hundred man out of the total number of twenty-five thousand refugees managed to make their way to Pakistan by hiding in fields, during the day and travelling by night.

"About fifteen thousand Moslems were brought from the surrounding villages to Akhnoor Bridge on October 20. They were asked there to go to Pakistan on foot. Refusing to do so, they were killed by Rajput and Dogra soldiers. Only one hundred of them escaped hiding in maize fields".

Malik Aftab, now an Executive Engineer in the Punjab Government, says:—

"In 1947 I was an Assistant Engineer in Kashmir P. W. D. posted at Jammu. My father late Malik Ghulam Haider was the General Secretary of Anjuman-e-Islamia, the well-known social organisation which had rendered a great service towards educating the Muslims of Jammu Province. My cousin and brother-in-law Mr. A. R. Saghar was one of the front-rankers of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. We lived in Mohalla Pir Mitha in Jammu City. Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas also lived in the same Mohalla. Jammu city had about twenty thousand Muslims and about fifty thousand Hindus.

"During the months of August and September 1947, a number of Hindus migrated from Sialkot side which had formed part of Pakistan, and entered Jammu City. They narrated exaggerated stories of massacare of Hindus in Pakistan. These refugees were anyhow sent to East Punjab but their concocted and exaggerated stories added to the already tense atmosphere. In the first week of October, we were horrified to see houses set on fire in the suburbing

villages inhabitted by both Hindus and Muslims. Jammu City being on a higher position, we could see houses on fire in the surrounding villages. During next few days we came to know how Hindu goondas had set Muslim houses on fire and killed most of the inhabitants. The survivors took refuge in Jammu City and this made the atmosphere more tense. Then came the news that armed forces from the Sikh States of Patiala, Kapurthala and Nabh in East Punjab (India) had entered Jammu in plain clothes. The purpose could be well judged since they had already had a blood bath in East Punjab where they had butchered thousands of Muslims.

One day when I came back from my morning prayers I was told at home that Mian Aziz, brother of Mian Abdul Rashid, Senior Superintendent of Police, Jammu, had come to my house and left a message for me to see him. I rushed to his house where he told me that he was leaving for Srinagar with his family that very day under police escort and advised me to take my family to Srinagar too, as the situation in Jammu was fast deteriorating. He asked me for my car, which I promised and rushed home. Having told my home people to pack up immediately, I went to my car and to my great anguish, it was not in order. It took me quite some time to put it in useable condition. By the time I got my car ready, Mian Aziz had left for Srinagar. At about 9 a.m. on that fateful day of 27th October 1947, I, along with my sisters, the family of A. R. Saghar and my

younger brothers Ejaz Haider and Farooq Haider left for Srinagar. We put all the valuables including some golden ornaments and cash in the car. Near Ram Nagar Palace Sheikh Mohammad Aslam Inspector of Traffic Police saw us and advised us not to proceed ahead as that was dangerous. He could not tell us details since he was accompanied by some Hindus. He also told us that Mian Aziz and family had passed through. When we reached village Nagrota, some eight miles from Jammu City, we saw some house-hold things scattered all over the road. Some Hindus were shouting anti-Muslim slogans but we passed by them safely as they took us as Hindus since the ladies were without veils. We had done it intentionally to pose as Hindus in case of an emergency. When we reached Bun-Talab, a village three miles ahead of Nagrota, we saw some tongas scattered here and there and without horses. They were the tongas, I recognised, which had brought the fleeing Hindus from the Valley after tribesmen had entered Baramulla. We had advised the tongawalas at Jammu not to go to Srinagar unarmed, but they did not agree saying that they were nationalist Muslims and that Hindus of Jammu could not harm them since they had brought Kashmiri Hindus safely to Jammu. They had left Jammu a day earlier. After a few minutes we saw dead bodies of the tonga drivers scattered all over. The scene naturally horrified us but we proceeded ahead and after a few minutes we found the road blocked. When we stopped, a big crowd of Hindus equipped with spears, guns, swords and sticks

surrounded us and one of them asked me whether I was a Muslim or a Hindu We told him that we were Hindus and were proceeding to Srinagar. They were about to remove the blockade when a Sikh recognized me. He was a driver and I had helped him on several occasions. A boy also came by and he recognized my brother Ejaz Haider and shouted that the boy was a Muslim. The Sikh also announced my identity. The crowd dragged my brother out of the car and took him forcibly to road-side. I was also caught hold of and my arguments failed to soften the heart of even the Sikh whom I had been so helpful. After some time I saw five or six persons coming back from the direction where they had taken my brother. They were waving their swords full of blood. I judged that my brother had been killed. While all this was going on, my youngest brother Farooq Haider, still a child, was abusing the ruffians all the time but they did not take much notice of it perhaps thinking that they would deal with him later. Immediately an idea struck my mind and I in a flash decided to run away and seek help from the adjoining village. The hope of getting help was so strong that I could not judge the other possibility i.e. the possible massacre of all my family members in my absense. Abruptly I started running and a few of the Hindus followed me. One of them hit a blow and another struck a lathi on my head. I returned a blow and ran away. The Sikh (driver) caught hold of me and we started wrestling and in the process both of us fell on the road. After inflicting some blows on him, I managed to run away.

Three of them followed me. I jumped over the parapet of the road. The Sikh followed but I snatched his stick. In the mean time another Sikh appeared from the front and started taking out his dagger. But as luck would have it, the dagger did not come out of the satchel. I made use of the opportunity and jumped down hill and continued almost rolling down. Three of them were following me. I reached the bed of a nulla. On the bank of the rivulet, I saw about thirty dead bodies lying in a row looking as if they were fast asleep. On the second look I found that the throats of all of them were cut. They were some of the tonga-walas. I continued my run while some Sikhs were still chasing me far behind as could be judged from their voices. I entered some fields with thorny hedges and could well hear the whistles of the pursuers. But another danger confronted me. Some farmers, naturally Hindus, were working in the fields who could easily catch hold of me. But I escaped safe as they did not bother to run after me.

"After running for four or five miles, I entered a jungle only to find hundreds of dead bodies of men women and children scattered all over. The breasts of some women were cut off and some babies still clinching to the bosoms of their dead mothers. Seeing that the chasers were left far behind and had perhaps gone back, I decided to rest a bit as I was exhausted and heavily perspiring. I sat down and put off my sweater only to find it drenched in blood. I put my hand over my head and found a gash about

five to six inches in length and about an inch deep. I started feeling giddy and felt like sleeping but the thought that I would sleep never to awake again made me decide to march on towards Jammu which was still about five miles away. I grappled all my nerves and started off after having a dip in the water and a sort of first-aid on my wound with the cloth that I tore from my shirt. The stick that I had snatched from the Sikh played wonders in helping me walk speedily. After another two hours I reached and crossed River Tawi and found that the Water Works Office premises were closed. On the gate of the office I found a gathering of R.S.S. people. Out of the frying pan, I was now falling into the fire but my presence of mind saved me. With torn shirt, bare footed and injured head I looked like a lunatic which I decided to pose. I passed through them acting as if I was an insane person and kept on shouting that I had been beaten by Muslims. Then I started running up-hill towards Ustad Ka Mohalla, a Muslim populated area and when I reached near it I found no Muslim in the area. I then ran towards Governors House. The Hindu Governor of Jammu knew me but he refused to give me audience. Disappointed, I rang Mian Abdul Rashid from the office of Governor's P.A. Mian Sahib jumped with joy to hear that I was alive. He told me that my family members except me and Ejaz were back home safe. He sent me his car and I reached home which gave a bit of consolation to the horrified and mourning family. A doctor was called who termed my survival as a

miracle with so much of bleeding and such a serious wound. What had happened was that immediately after I ran away from the place, the ruffians had dragged Javed Saghar, six months old son of A.R. Saghar, out of the car and were about to slaughter him. The women folk handed all their belongings to the ruffians begging them to spare the child. The affair was going on when Mr. Patel, the Superintendent of Traffic Police passed by. He saw the crowd, recognized my car and came to my family's rescue. He snatched the child and scolded and dispersed the crowd. He then put my family members in two tongas of the killed tonga walas, one driven by my sister and the other by a Hindu boy and followed them to Jammu.

"I and my family members are so much indebted to Mr. Patel for his angel-like action. Of course every Hindu was not a savage, there were human beings too. May Almighty bless him. Anyhow the tragic loss of my brother was a shock that we have not been able to recover so far dispite all our efforts to do so. My heart burns, mother tosses about restlessly, sisters weep and my brother Dr. Farooq Haider almost turns mad the moment some incident reminds us of Ejaz, my dear brother, a young, handsome, intelligent boy, a student of Matric and in his teens who had fallen victim to communal fanaticism for no fault of his.

"After the incident which had rendered our family to continuous mourning and myself lying on bed, the

situation worsened. The cordon of the mohalla by Hindu fanatics was narrowing day by day. They wanted to penetrate into our mohalla but our boys kept them away repulsing their attacks from the bunkers that we had dug for the purpose. My house became a centre due to a radio set which was the only one to work those days since low voltage had rendered all other sets ineffective. People used to gather there to listen to news from Radio Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah had just taken over as Chief Emergency Administrator. We hoped he would visit Jammu immediately and rescue us but he did not come. Since almost all the Muslim leaders of Jammu were in jail and the rest had gone to Pakistan, we were political orphans. At this critical juncture Captain Naseeruddin rose to the occasion and restored confidence in the demoralised people. Having failed to penetrate into our mohalla, the Hindus sent a delegation to negotiate 'peace' with us but Captain Naseeruddin could not be trapped. By then the Hindus had themselves been demoralised due to inflow of the news of the rout of dogra forces in the Valley at the hands of the tribesmen. The Hindus then had the last on-slaught on the mohalla. Haneef, a young collegiate killed a number of ruffians wilh a hand-grenade before he was himself killed by a bullet. Another bullet hit another young boy right in the fore-head. Saleem Khan and his two body-guards took a good toll with their 3.3 rifles. In the mean time some boys broke into the house of General Sumandar Khan (Air Marshal Asghar

Khan's uncle) and acquired six guns and a sizeable number of rounds. These guns helped us to defend ourselves for thirty-six hours. Next day it was announced through drum-beat and loudspeakers that the people should assemble in Police Lines for their safe despatch to Pakistan. It was also hinted that the mohalla would be bombarded next day. Captain Naseeruddin advised people not to pay any heed to the announcements but the people did not take his counsel and started leaving for Police Lines. Within a short time the entire Mohalla was empty. We took the ailing Professor Rashid to the Police Lines on a cot. For two days we remained there foodless and sleepless and were deprived of all our belongings. We sent telegrams to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Quaid-e-Azam and Pandit Nehru but they proved of no avail. Perhaps the telegrams were not even transmitted.

It was a fateful Wednesday, perhaps 5th of November when some fifty buses appeared on the scene in Police Lines. People rushed into them wildly and the buses left for Sialkot, Pakistan. Next day another convoy also left. It was on the evening of Thursday that Mistri Aziz, elder brother of Abdul Haq came to me and told the woeful story of the massacre of the Muslims of the first convoy. A short while later the news of the massacre of the second convoy also came. When the massacre of the second convoy was going on, we were told later, Brigadier Usman of Indian Army (sent by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah)

saw the scene from the helicopter in which he was flying over the area. He landed on the spot and dispursed the ruffians after killing a number of them. The Muslim survivors ran away to Sialkot side and some came back to Jammu. In the Wednesday convoy, there were my friends like Abdul Haq, a daring youth. When the convoy was stopped and attacked, some people including Haq had succeeded in escaping after killing a handful of the attackers. When he was almost safe, he heard the cries of women-folk who were shonting 'Brother Huq, whom are you leaving your sisters to'. These cries moved Huq so much that despite efforts by his co-survivors to keep him from jumping into the fire, Huq responded to the call of his sisters-in-faith and came back and attacked those who were dragging young girls. He snatched a sword from a Sikh and killed a number of ruffians before he was himself killed. Professor Rasheed was also killed after that old, ailing but bold man had killed a number of Hindus with the old sword which he had taken with him from Jammu saying that only he who kills a Kafar before himself being killed was a real Shaheed. What an irony that he was killed by one of his own Hindu pupils who was among the ruffians. In this carnage Jammu lost a number of its illustrious sons including Ferozuddin Salaria, D. F. O., Prof. Malik Fazal Huq, Prof. Rasheed, Shiekh Ameen, Abdul Huq and others.

Brigadier Usman (who was later killed by tribesmen at Uri, Baramulla) visited the Police Lines next

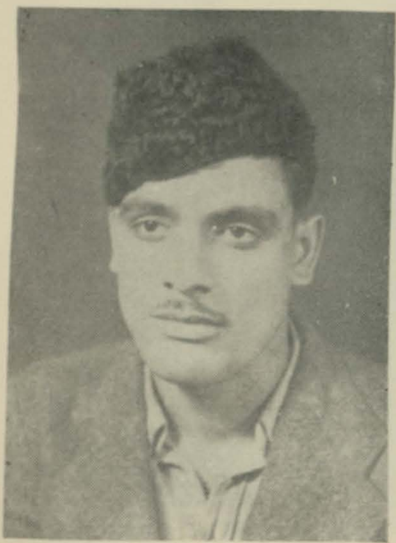
Four of Jammu Martyrs.



Abdul Haq Shaheed



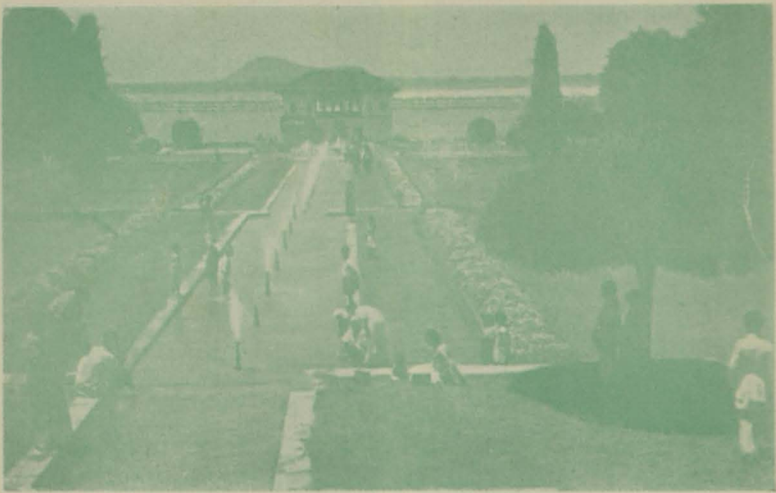
Ejaz Haider Shaheed



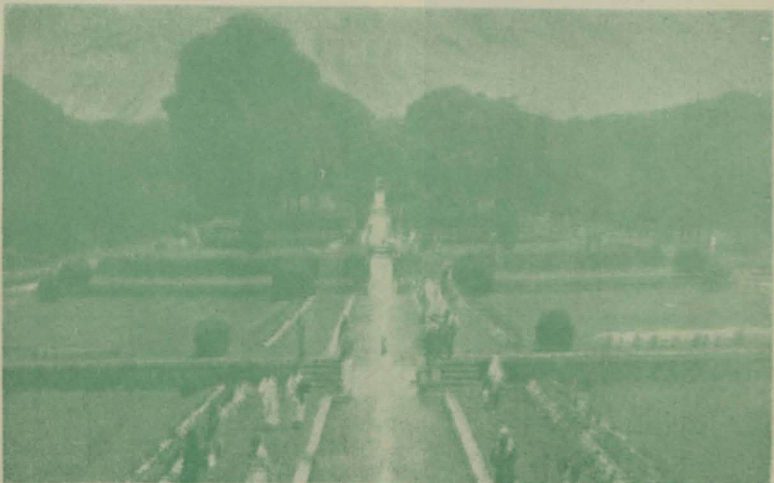
Bashir Ahmad Shaheed



Abdul Ghafoor Shaheed



Nishat Gardens (from below)



Nishat Gardens (from below).

day and arranged our safe journey to Sialkot using some very intelligent and fool-proof devices. When I reached Lahore, I called on Raja Gazanfar Ali, a central Minister and told him the woeful story of Jammu and to my great surprise, he knew nothing about it and did not believe me. This was the state of affairs prevailing then.

"There have been massacres, there have been wars and there have been communal riots but never in history has communal frenzy resorted to such brutishness and savagery. What is all the more paining is that the carnage still remains unavenged. The best way to revenge is to free the dear motherland from Indian yoke. Yes we owe it to our nears and dears who fell victims to the heinous carnage."

Savagery thy name is communal fanaticism.

6. PAKISTANS FOLLIES

Contrary to Indias policy of trying to perpetuate her forced occupation of Kashmir, Pakistan, except for some procedural gross mistakes, mis-handling of the issue and some omissions and commissions, has throughout been supporting and advocating Kashmiris' right of self determination. Pakistan's seriousness regarding the issue can be judged from the fact that it formed the very base of her foreign policy for a long time. In her keen desire to get the issue solved, she has more than once staked her own integrity. Yet

she cannot escape unblamed for the blunders committed by her from time to time; blunders that have had devastating effects on and proved destructive to Kashmiris' cause. Most of these follies and fallacies were the result of lack of correct appreciation of the issue and its ingredients, under foreign pressure, due to political expediencies and in the process of chasing the looter of share the booty. Let us have a brief account of them.

The first end of the chain of Pakistan's omissions and comissions regarding the Kashmir issue goes back to pre-independence era The All India Muslim League, following a policy of what it termed as 'non-interference in the internal affairs of the princely states, had kept itself almost aloof from Kashmiris' freedom struggle. It was very strange of the Muslim League which claimed to be the sole representative body of the Muslims of the subcontinent to show almost no interest in the political movement of the people of Kashmir, 80 percent of whom were Muslims. No doubt the State had its separate political entity, yet equity, affablity and reason called for atleast effective moral support to them in their struggle for political, economic and religious rights. Extending full support to Kashmiris was all the more necessary for Muslim League since the Indian National Congress was taking keen interest in the affairs of the State. In 1946 when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah launched the historic 'Quit Kashmir Movement' demanding of the autocratic ruler to quit

the State and leave it to its real owners, the people, Congress leaders seized all opportunities to gain the sympathies and goodwill of the Kashmiri leader by extending full support to him. They momentised the movement through public support to it and by publicising it throughout India and abroad and when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his compatriots were arrested and tried for sedition, Congress leaders provided adequate legal defence to them. Mr. Asif Ali a renowned advocate, was deputed by the Congress to Srinagar to defend Kashmiri leaders. Mr. Nehru himself tried to force his way into Kashmir (just a few days before he was to be installed as the Prime Minister of Indias Interim Government) to defend Sheikh Abdullah personally, despite Maharaja's serious warning to him not to enter the State. On his refusal to abide by the State rulers warnings, he was arrested by the State Police at Kohala, the then Indo-Kashmir border and kept under detention in Chinari Rest House near Muzaffarabad for several days before he returned to New Delhi on Maulana Azad's repeated calls, and was sworn-in as Indias Prime Minister just next day. Congress even shared most of the defence expenditure of the trial. Congress leaders had a clear motive before them. They wanted to win over the people of Kashmir in general and their leaders in particular so that they could make use of the goodwill during the crucial days that were ahead. Subsequent events proved that their appreciation of things was correct and their political strategy sound and to the point. They did

make a rich political capital out of their support to Kashmiri leaders.

On the other hand the Muslim League not only adopted a lukewarm attitude towards the Quit Kashmir Movement, but advised the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference headed by Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, to boycott it. This was on uncalled-for advice at a critical juncture. Muslim Conference was any-how divided on the issue. An influencial section wanted the organisation to forget, atleast during the movement, its differences with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his National Conference and extend full support to the agitation, whereas another section wanted it to follow the advice of the Muslim League. The latter succeeded and the Muslim Conference kept aloof from the movement. Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, probably foreseeing that apathy towards the movement might jeopardise his own leadership and the position of the Muslim Conference, got himself arrested by violating a prohibitive order.

Had the Muslim Conference as well as the Muslim League extended active support to the 'Quit Kashmir' Movement, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah would have probably succeeded in ousting the Maharaja and the State would have got rid of an autocratic Hindu ruler before independence of the subcontinent and that would have only served Pakistan's cause. Thus on one hand a golden opportunity was lost and on

the other, the gulf of bitterness with Sheikh Abdullah widened. The most tragic part of the matter was that the Muslim League leaders did not still realize the gravity of the situation and failed to amend their policies during the subsequent period.

In early October 1947 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah deputed his close lieutenant and the present Chief Minister of the held part of the State, Mr. G. M. Sadiq to negotiate with Pakistani leaders the terms on which the State could join Pakistan. All that he wanted was a clear, unequivocal and declared assurance from Pakistan that Kashmir would enjoy full internal antonomy after accession to Pakistan. But some Pakistani leaders of the second rank on one hand kept him from getting in touch with the central leadership and on the other, adopted a very cold and derogatory attitude towards him. After quite a bit of running about and hectic efforts he left Lahore for Srinagar on 22nd October 1947, (the day when tribesmen entered the State) disappointed and with a feeling of having been humiliated. One of Sheikh Sahib's close associates, Chaudhary Mohammad Shafi, who was later nominated as a member of Indian Parliament from Kashmir, was manhandled in Lahore and after losing his teeth in the process, he escaped to Srinagar though he was a resident of Mirpur (Azad Kashmir). His only fault was that he was Sheikh Abdullah's follower. To add insult to Kashmiri leaders injuries, some Pakistani leader once commented un-necessarily that Kashmir was a

bearer cheque lying in Pakistan's pocket and she could cash it when ever she liked. All these things irritated Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as he would neither like to join Pakistan unconditionally nor could he tolerate his nation being treated as a bearer-cheque. Indian leaders exploited the situation all the more. Then came a strong compaign of malicious propaganda against Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah through Pakistan's press and radio. He was named as Hari Abdullah, Dogra Abdullah, Ghaddar Abdullah (Abdullah the traitor) and what not. This annoyed him so much that he retaliated with attacks on Pakistani leadership and in the process fell into the lap of Indian leaders, who wasted no time in tightening their grip on him through flattery and offers to help him in shaping a prosperous and bright future for Kashmir. In the mean time a rumour got into the air in Kashmir, probably concocted by Indian leaders, that Pakistan Government was trying to get the Sheikh assassinated. This added further aggressiveness to his attitude towards Pakistan. Attacks and counter-attacks on each other between Pakistani leaders and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah took a strange shape. Liaquat Ali Khan would announce in a public meeting that Abdullah had no right to pose as leader of Kashmiri people. To this Sheikh Abdullah would readily retaliate saying that Abdullah of Kashmir and not the Nawabzada from Karnal had a right to represent Kashmiris. "If not their leader, I am atleast one of 4 million Kashmiris. What right have you got to talk about Kashmiris"

he used to shout. This was the state of affairs that prevailed until 1952.

Had Pakistani leaders as well as Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, instead of adopting such a derogatory, humiliating and aggressive attitude towards each other, shown a bit of patience, tolerance and broadmindedness; had persuasiveness and reason replaced obstinacy and reliance on hearsay stories and had not farsightedness been overshadowed by personal prestiges, the history of Kashmir would have been quite different.

Establishment in October 1947 of the Azad (free) Government of Jammu and Kashmir was a marvelous feat on the part of Kashmiri patriots. It apparently heralded the dawn of a glorious era for Kashmir. An action in right earnest, it not only reactivated and channelised the course of Kashmiris' freedom struggle to its real destiny, but gave a lead to all freedom movements of the world too. It was a step most congeniel and apposite to the nature of circumstances then prevailing in and arround the State. But alas! this glorious venture lost its splendour soon after its very creation mainly due to gross mishandling by Pakistan Government. Whereas other freedom movements reached their respective distinations, sooner or later, following the line of action that Kashmiris had given to them, the Azad Government was soon reduced to the position of an impotent local administration. Had things been

dealt with properly, the Azad Government was destined to free the entire State from Indian joke within a short period of time.

In 1947 the international political situation was quite favourable to get the Azad Government internationally recognised as the *dejure* Government of Jammu and Kashmir. As a matter of fact the Azad Kashmir Government had shown its keenness to take steps to that end. That would have on one hand accorded an international status to this Government and on the other hand made it the most important party to the issue. Unfortunately the Government of Pakistan did not pay any attention to this all important issue. Instead, Pakistan later accepted the UNCIP suggestion of treating the Azad Government as a local authority and the Srinagar Government as the *dejure* Government of the entire State. It was decided, and Pakistan agreed to it, that the Plebiscite Administrator would be a functionary of the Srinagar Government and the Azad Government would function under the Plebiscite Administrator.

Under the UNCIP resolution of 13th August 1948, a plebiscite was to be held in Kashmir, 'to determine the future status of the State'. This meant that Kashmiris could, if they so liked, vote for independence of the State too. But under pressure from Pakistan, their choice was restricted to accession to India or Pakistan only. Thus Pakistan got the doors of independence of the State closed. Incidently she

was herself advocating rather spearheading Hyderabad's case for independence at the time when she got the doors of Kashmirs independence closed, thereby applying different standards to two similar issues. Pakistan thus innovated a new interpretation of the right of self-determination. Under internationally accepted and practiced interpretation, self-determination can neither be limited, conditioned, nor circumscribed. By limiting Kashmiris' right to accession to India and Pakistan alone, the issue was dragged out of its actual and specific nature as an issue concerning the future of a nation and brought down to the position of a dispute over a piece of territory between two countries. Kashmiris as a party to the issue were relegated to oblivion and the two alien claimants of their motherland accepted as the sole-contestants in the dispute. Cease-fire was imposed on them without even consulting them.

According to a military theory, the best way of defence is to resort to offensive and confuse the enemy. India praticed this recipe regarding Kashmir issue to hide her weakness and hollow position. She resorted to dictating terms on Pakistan and the latter, falling prey to India's shrewd tactical strategem, went on complying with these dictations and in the process not only lost her moral superiority and initiative but made an imbroglio of a very simple isssue.

After cease-fire, Azad Kashmir which was supposed to act as base-camp for liberation of the

entire State, became a battlefield of the tug of war over its Presidentship between different factions of Kashmiri leadership. Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, the Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Government of Pakistan, was the man to create, aggravate and perpetuate this tug. Using the British device of 'divide and rule', Nawab Gurmani who was a dictator and a conspirator by nature, kept on fanning the fire of differences beetween Kashmiri leaders in order to keep his personal grip on Azad Kashmir. This gave birth to a conspiratory atmosphere which on one hand throttled democratic values and on the other, subjected Azad Kashmir to direct control of Kashmir Affairs Ministry. Presidents of Azad Kashmir were changed at will by the Kashmir Affairs Ministry though in theory they were answerable before the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference only. As many as eight times during a period of twelve years were the Presidents of Azad Kashmir installed and removed. Azad Kashmir groaned under practical dictatorship of Kashmir Affairs Ministry for fourteen long years. The first ever elections were held in 1961. Weighing with the standards of usual values and practices of democracy, these elections were a hoax, as they were held only after disqualifying most of the prominent Kashmiri leaders including Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas and Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, under a law termed as EBDA, an invention of the Kashmir Affairs Ministry. Only 2400 'representatives' of over two million people living in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan formed the electoral

college. Yet keeping in view the earlier system of nominations of Presidents of Azad Kashmir by Kashmir Affairs Ministry, these elections were considered a step forward on the road leading to full democratisation. Mr. K. H. Khurshid, the President-in-power got highest number of votes (950) and was installed as the first 'elected President of Azad Kashmir'. The Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government was renamed as the 'Azad Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir'. An Advisory State Council of twelve members, six each from Azad Kashmir and Kashmir refugees living in Pakistan, was also elected by the same electoral college. The Council in its very first meeting adopted a resolution (it could not legislate) advising the President to take necessary and immediate steps to get the Azad Government recognized internationally as the *dejure* Government of the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir. Recognition issue was the main feature of Mr. Khurshid's election manifesto and had received highest number of votes. In 1962 President Mohammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan when asked by press reporters at Peshawar, had said that Pakistan Government would consider favourably if and when an official request for recognition came from the Azad Government. Mr. Manzoor Quadir, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, himself of Kashmiri origin, was a staunch supporter of recognition idea but the Government soon changed its policy towards the issue and it was shelved. Azad Government was also 'advised' to forget about it. Had the issue been paid due heed to

and Azad Government got recognised, the freedom struggle would have taken a big turn for the better. But Pakistan's bureaucratic approach to this purely political issue wasted yet another opportunity to reactivate it on international level.

Soon after Mr. Khurshid was installed as the first elected President of the Azad Government, there arose a tug of war between him and the Joint Secretary Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, Government of Pakistan. The latter used to be the Chief Adviser to the Azad Government and as such an employee and subordinate of the Azad Kashmir President. Before 1961, all powers in Azad Kashmir practically vested in the Chief Adviser and he used to dictate terms on the Azad Kashmir Presidents. Mr. Khurshid now wanted that the real authority in Azad Kashmir should west in him as he was an elected President and not a nominated one. On his first visit to Rawalpindi after being installed as the first elected President, Mr. Khurshid wanted the Chief Adviser whose affice was in Shahzada Kothi, to come to him to Poonchh House, the Azad Kashmir Government House in Rawalpindi and discuss necessary official matters with him. This was taken as an insult to himself by the Chief Adviser and he in return demanded that the President should go to his office as was done by his predecessors. This tug of war continued for several days with neither of them conceding to others demand. Both had made it a point of prestige for themselves. The matter finally went to President of

Pakistan who deputed one of his Ministers to solve the problem. The Minister called Mr. Khurshid to Shahzada Kothi and after some discussions, told him that he (Mr. Khurshid) should come to Shahzada Kothi (Chief Advisers office) whenever he wanted to discuss an official matter with the Chief Adviser. This was the first victory for the Chief Adviser over the elected President of Azad Kashmir and the decision was that the employer should call on the emplyee. Mr. Khurshid accepted the decision but even that did not satisfy the Chief Adviser. He decided to 'teach a lesson' to the 'petty president of a local authority' and kept on collecting material against him. The gulf between the two went on widening. Towards the middle of 1964, during a meeting of the Presidential Cabinet of Pakistan, the Chief Adviser to Azad Government circulated a paper among the Ministers. The paper contained a number of serious charges against Mr. K. H. Khurshid, and was supplemented by 'documentry proofs'. The Cabinet decided to remove him from the Presidentship of the Azad Kashmir Government and deputed Mr. Mohammad Shoaib, the Finance Minister to do the job. Smelling the activities of the Chief Adviser, Mr. Khurshid had called an unofficial meeting of the State Council members in the beginning of August 1964 and apprised them of the situation. The State Councillors expressed their full confidence in Mr. Khurshid and a press release was issued to that effect. On August 5, 1964 Mr. Khurshid was called to Shahzada Kothi by Mr. Shoaib where he

was served with a charge sheet. He was anyhow given the option either to resign (and in that case the charges would be withdrawn) or to face the charges. The charges being of 'serious nature' Mr. Khurshid 'agreed' to resign and 'submitted' his resignation instantly. The Azad Kashmir Act of 1961 was immediately abrogated and six refugee State Councillors dismissed by the Chief Adviser. Thus came to an end, more than two years before expiry of its normal tenure, the first elected Government in Azad Kashmir.

The Azad Kashmir Act of 1961 was replaced by another Act, the Azad Kashmir Act of 1964. Under this Act, the actual authority in Azad Kashmir vested in the Chief Adviser. The number of State Council members was reduced to eight, six from Azad Kashmir and two nominated by the Chief Adviser from amongst the Kashmir refugees living in Pakistan. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, the Chief Justice of Azad Kashmir High Court was nominated by the Chief Adviser as the interim President.

The Sino-Indian border clash of 1962 had afforded a golden opportunity to get Kashmir issue solved. Had Pakistan taken due advantage of the situation and pressed for solution of the issue, India could have well been cowed down. India had, in 1948, attacked Hyderabad State on the day when Pakistan was mourning the death of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah hence was in

no position to extend any help to Hyderabad which she would and could have done in normal circumstances. If India could stoop so low, why should have Pakistan hesitated to take due advantage of an opportunity offered by external circumstances. But President Ayub Khan bowed before President Kennedy who had "requested" the Pakistan President "not to add to Indias troubles" and the opportunity was lost.

In 1962-63, the Government of Pakistan at the instance of U. S. A. and U. K. started negotiations with the Government of India regarding Kashmir issue. Pakistan delegation headed by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, then Minister for Natural Resources and Indian delegation headed by Mr. Swaran Singh, held a number of meetings in Karachi and New Delhi. The two delegations maintained strict secrecy about the nature and details of talks. The declared aim of the talks was to find an 'honourable and equitable' solution of Kashmir issue. It was also indicated that "alternate solutions to plebiscite" were being explored, but the two delegations maintained strict secrecy about the nature and details of talks. It was not anyhow difficult to conclude from these hints that the delegations were discussing division of the State between India and Pakistan. Some newspapers hinted that India offered re-adjustment of the cease-fire-line giving some areas now under her occupation, to Pakistan whereas Pakistan offered to concede to India four thousand square miles of predominently

Hindu populated area in Jammu Province. There was a talk, covered by a number of foreign papers, that the delegations might, narrowing the existing gap between the offers made by each delegation, agree on dividing Kashmir Valley with River Jhelum as international boundary. Whether this suggestion actually came under discussion or not, it would have bisected almost all main towns of the Valley including Srinagar, Sopore and Baramulla, besides cutting the Valley into two pieces. The talks any-how failed and when Mr. Swaran Singh was asked at the Palam Airport on his return from Karachi after last session, as to what was the main cause of failure of the talks, he said that Pakistan offered only four thousand square miles of the State to India and wanted the rest of the State to be handed over to her. India, he said, could not agree to that sort of a thing, hence the negotiations failed.

How unfortunate that Pakistan who had always advocated Kashmiris' selfdetermination right should have agreed to discuss division of the State in utter disregard to the will of the prople of Jammu and Kashmir with whom integrity of the State is an article of faith. What is all the more shocking was that no Kashmiri leader was consulted or taken into confidence before or during the talks nor did the two delegations include any Kashmiri. These talks were tentamount to stabing Kashmiris in the back. The talks failed but not before providing a sound excuse for the world to say that Pakistan was interested in Kashmir's

territory and not in the self-determination right of its people. This also gave some shocking jerks to the faith that Kashmiris had in Pakistan and her sincerity towards their cause.

In July 1963 after a meeting of the Presidential Cabinet, the Government announced that it would not tolerate any movement on the part of Kashmiris, aiming at independence of the State. This policy still continues and has gone a long way in damaging the issue.

In 1968, things took a worse turn in Azad Kashmir. The Azad Kashmir Act of 1964 was replaced by 1968 Act which snatched from the Azad Kashmir Government even the little authority that vested in it so far. In theory the Presidentship of Azad Government was also abolished as the Chairman of the State Council had, according to this Act, to act as 'ex-officio President of Azad Kashmir'. The State Council of ten members, six elected and four nominated by the Chief Adviser, could not even pass a resolution not to any of legistation, without prior and written permission from the Chief Adviser (Secretary to Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs, Government of Pakistan). The people protested enbloc against this most undemocratic Act but their protests, demonstrations and condemnations failed to move the Pakistan Government. 'Elections' were held under this Act and Hamid Khan got 'elected' as the Chairman of the Council and as such ex-officio President of

Azad Kashmir by six 'elected' and four nominated members of the Council. He was elected for five years but was removed less than a year after his election and Brigadier Abdul Rehman Khan, a native of Azad Kashmir and a retired officer of Pakistan Army was appointed by the Chief Adviser as his successor. He has an impotent cabinet of three Ministers one each from three of Kashmiri political parties. A new constitution for Azad Kashmir is in the offing and elections are to be held within 1970. Despite strong demands from the political parties that constitution making should be left to the proposed Legislative Assembly, the Azad Government with the 'help' of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs is busy framing a constitution for the State.

Gilgit Baltistan received even worse treatment at the hands of Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. The area has been groaning under Frontier Crimes Regulations (F. C. R.) commonly known as black law, for the last 23 years. No political activity is allowed under this law. Section 40 of the F. C. R. hangs like a sword on the head of every politically conscious person. A recent event provides a glimpse of the nature of this law. Mir of Hunza, ruler of the tiny Hunza Chiefdom was passing through a village. Hated as he is by the people, some primary school children of the village shouted 'Aamiriat Murdabad' (Down with dictatorship). He reported the incident to the Political Agent Gilgit and the latter imposed a fine of Rs. 10,000/- on the

entire village under Section 22 of the F. C. R. It may be of some interest to mention here that the intelligentsia of the tiny states of Hunza and Nagar are continously agitating against these last vestiges of the dogra rule, the Mirs (rulers) of Hunza and Nagar. People want them to be removed and replaced by civil administration. Mir of Hunza was even manhandled by Hunza students in Karachi in 1969. But their demonstrations and demands have so far proved a cry in the wilderness.

Gilgit and Baltistan have been deprived of any representation in any legislative body. The area is administered by the Resident in Gilgit and Baltistan who, besides being the head of administration, is the Chief Justice and the only judge of the local High Court. More often than not, he is a retired military officer with out possessing any qualifications in law or experience of judiciary, yet no appeal lies to his judgements. Corruption is at its climax in these areas. The local Government employees get 35 percent less salary then their Pakistani counterparts stationed in these areas. Bulk of the huge sums of money that the Government of Pakistan allocates for overall development of these areas, goes to the pockets of corrupt officers. Thanks anyhow to the strategic importance of these areas, the Indus Valley Road, constructed by Pakistan Army, has brought some economic relief to the people of these areas.

In recent years particularly after the Tashkent Declaration, Pakistan Government has adopted a policy of discouraging the freedom movement of Kashmiris. In 1966, just after the Tashkent, some Kashmiri patriots, realising that it was futile rather suicidal to expect of the United Nations or the big powers to get them their freedom and following the clear lessons of the history of contemporary freedom struggles that it is only through armed resistence that the enthrawled peoples can achieve their national emancipation, decided to launch an armed struggle against Indian forces of occupation in Kashmir. An under-ground organisation with the name and of title of Jammu and Kashmir National Liberation Front (JKNLF) was formed. The organisation started its initial job in June, 1966. Members of the organisation spread throughout the Valley and established their centres. But in September 1966 one of the JKNLF groups headed by Mr. Maqbool Butt of Trehgam (Indian occupied area) got exposed and was hauled up by Indian army after encircling and combing an area of 50 square miles under the personal supervision of Mr. D. P. Dhar, then a Minister in Kashmir Cabinet and now India's Ambassador to Moscow. The group was on organisational mission hence did not carry enough arms. In the encounter with Indian Army, a member of the group Mr. Aurangzeb was killed after he had killed a number of Indian soldiers. The three remaining members of the group were arrested and tried by a special tribunal in Srinagar Central Jail. Two of them including Mr.

Maqbool were sentenced to death and one to life imprisonment in 1968. About three hundred people arrested on the charge of collaborating with the JKNLF were kept under detention for periods ranging from six months to three years.

Another group of the JKNLF men headed by ex-Major Amanullah Khan of village Haihama (Indian held Kashmir) was encircled by Indian army but succeeded in escaping from the cordon and crossed over to Azad Kashmir. To his great astonishment he was arrested alongwith members of his group and kept under detention in Dulai Interogation Camp near Muzaffarabad for several months. On his release, he was pushed to Pakistan side and asked not to enter Azad Kashmir in future.

Pending execution, Mr. Maqbool Butt and his companion succeeded in escaping from Srinagar Central Jail in December 1968. The puppet Government immediately announced through Srinagar Radio a prize of Rs. 10,000/- for reporting the whereabouts of Mr. Maqbool and party to the authorities and seven years imprisonment for providing shelter to them. But neither the attraction of Rs. 10,000/- nor the fear of seven years imprisonment kept the patriotic people from giving them due protection and they, after sixteen days of their escape from the Srinagar Jail, reached Azad Kashmir after crossing fifteen to twenty thousand feet high snow covered mountains in December chill.

With snow bitten feet, empty stomachs and exhausted bodies they reported at the Azad Kashmir Military Forward Post and were taken to Muzzaffarabad only to be kept under detention for about three months. They were released only after public protests took a serious shape and after Kashmiris staged a strong demonstration outside Presidents House Rawalpindi on the inaugural day of the Round Table Conference on 10th March, 1969. Mr. Maqbool and his compatriots were warned by Pakistan government in May 1970 that serious action including detention of the 'ring leaders' would be taken if they continued their individual efforts to liberate Kashmir from India. Who could be a greater enemy of Kashmiris than the authors of the theory that Pakistan should crush all efforts to be made by Kashmiri patriots to free their monther-land from the shackles of India's slavery.

It has become a usual thing in recent years especially after January, 1966 that the people from Indian held Kashmir who cross over to Azad Kashmir in quest of some material help from Pakistan Government or from their brethren on this side of the cease fire line, to fight Indians, are detained, subjected to mental and physical torture for months in the interrogation camps with the result that by the time they are released, they lose all the fire and either cross over to their homes disgusted, disappointed and forget about freedom, or settle in Pakistan and concentrate on earning their bread and butter.



Maqbool Ahmad Butt (Garlanded) with friends and admirers after his release on 10-3-1969.



Kashmiris' procession in Karachi 2-5-1958.



The Weir Srinagar.



Sonamarg.

This was a brief account of the blunders committed by Pakistan Government since the very inception of Kashmir issue. The misfortune for Pakistan has been that the actual control over her national and international affairs has most of the time been in the hands of bureaucrats and police officers who look at all national issues from bureaucratic and administrative angle. Kashmir issue is purely a political issue and should have been handled with purely political approach. Pakistan Government is fully responsible for entangling, confusing and making an imbroglio of a clear and simple issue. The people of Pakistan have anyhow always shown their sincere wishes for the freedom of Kashmiris but have not been able to check the misdeeds of their Governments as they have never had a real say in the affairs of the State.

7. THE BETRAYALS

One of the dirtiest aspects of Kashmir issue is India's repeated betrayals and treacheries. No gentleman and no civilized government, much less a person internationally posing to be a moralist and a government claiming of championing the cause of freedom, can be expected of resorting to such meanness, duplicity, effrontery, deceit and black-mail as Indian leaders and their government did in Kashmir. Twenty-three year history of India's forced occupation of the State is replete with incidents of treacheries and betrayals of meanest order. A detailed account of

these misdeeds will make a voluminous book in itself hence we shall mention only a few of them and briefly too.

1. Provisionally accepting States conditional 'accession' to India, the Governor General of India wrote to Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir "...it is my governments wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invaders, the question of State's accession would be settled by a reference to the people." Mr. Nehru went a step further when he broadcast a speech from AIR on 2nd November 1947 saying, "We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. The pledge we have given and the Maharaja has supported it, not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. WE WILL NOT AND CANNOT BACK OUT OF IT. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations." Again he said in Indian Parliament on August 7, 1952 that "this matter (Kashmirs accession) can be affirmed again or cancelled by the people of Kashmir according to their wishes. We do not want to win people against their will and with the help of armed forces; and if the people of Jammu and Kashmir wish to part company with us, they can go their way and we shall go ours. We want no forced marriages, no forced unions."

But when sheikh Mohammad Abdullah later reminded the Indian Prime Minister of his these very

pledges, the reply from Mr. Nehru, the great moralist was, "Abdullah, but all that was simply a drama" (Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's interview to monthly 'S H A B I S T A N' New Delhi). Years later Pundit Nehru confirmed his aforementioned reply to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah when he declared in Patna on January 7, 1962 that "there are many things in the world that cannot happen and this (plebiscite in Kashmir) is one of them".

Imposture thy name is India.

2. When Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah launched the historic 'Quit Kashmir' movement in 1946 asking the autocratic ruler to quit the State, he was arrested and tried for sedition. Commenting on his arrest, Mr. Nehru had said, 'Kashmir is Abdullah and Abdullah is Kashmir. Whoever arrests Abdullah arrests Kashmir'. Mr. Gandhi had later said, "Abdullah is the real ruler of Kashmir for he rules not bodies but hearts of Kashmiri people." But when the same Abdullah only reminded Mr. Nehru of his pledges given to him, (He had not asked India even to quit Kashmir), he was arrested and kept under detention for ten long years by the same Nehru who had earlier termed his detention as imprisonment of Kashmir.

3. Shiekh Mohammad Abdullah was presented to the world by India as the mouthpiece of Kashmiri people. But how he was treated by Indian Govern-

ment even during the early days of Indian occupation of Kashmir, can be judged from the following two instances :-

On 27th of October 1947 when India sent her forces to Kashmir, Kashmiris were made to believe that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was going to be installed immediately as the Prime Minister of Kashmir and Mr. Meharchand Mahajan the then Prime Minister would be appointed Dewan (Revenue Minister) of the State under the Sheikh. Arrangements were made that the news spread throughout the Valley. For four days no practical step was taken and when the Indian forces occupied almost all strategic and important places in the valley, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was appointed the Chief Emergency Administrator and the Prime Ministership, the key position, kept with Mahajan. It was months later, after India had planted herself strongly in the Valley that the Prime Ministership was given to Sheikh Sahib. Whereas the world and the people of Kashmir were given the impression that the Sheikh was the master of and at the helm of affairs in the State, power actually vested with Mahajan.

Lt. General B. M. Kaul who was later assigned the job of deposing the Sheikh by Mr. Nehru, says in his book, 'The Untold Story' that when he was appointed Advisor to Mr. Gopala-Swamy Ayyangar, India's Permanent Representative at the United Nations during Kashmir debate, the Governor

General of India told Mr. Nehru that he (Gen. Kaul) should see his (G. G's) Private Secretary. When Kaul met G G's Secretary, he was strictly advised, he says, to get the image of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah completely overshadowed by that of Ayangar through American Press. (Shiekh Mohammad Abdullah had been taken to the United Nations to prove to the world that the real representative of Kashmiri people was on India's side on Kashmir issue). The proposal was agreed to and Mr. Nehru apprised of it. It was finally decided that Mr. B. L Sharma, a Public Relations Officer should accompany Kaul to help him do the job efficiently and effectively. No step was spared at the U. N. headquarters to perform the duty 'diligently.' At the Security Council meetings, whereas on one hand India's representative shouted at the top of his voice that Kashmiris' undisputed leader was supporting India's stand on Kashmir issue, on the other hand every arrangement was made to keep the Sheikh from meeting heads of delegations and addressing the Security Council. Kaul says that Abdullah used to insist on meeting different delegations but Indians kept him from doing so. He once insisted and finally succeeded in joining a luncheon meeting with Russian delegation hosted by Kaul. The Sheikh also succeeded in snatching a chance to address the Security Council.

Nowhere in the channels of history has a civilized Government stooped so low to resort to actions so contrary to her open claims and declared policies.

4. India has been trying to make the world believe that the people in her occupied part of the State are enjoying full freedom of thought and expression and that they have willingly decided to remain with India. But the fact is that the sword of as many as about a dozen punitive laws including Preventive Detention Act, Enemy Agents Ordinance, Igress and Ingress Act and Defence of India Rules always hangs on the heads of Kashmiris. Anybody found expressing his independent views regarding future of Kashmir is victimised under any of these laws and subjected to unimaginable mental and physical tortures. Tens of thousands of people have so far been victimised, their only fault being that they want India to fulfil her pledges given to them, to Pakistan, to the United Nations and to the world at large; the pledges of affording to the people of Kashmir a chance to shape their destiny in accordance with their freely expressed will and national aspirations. Indian forces of occupation and the Central Reserve Police have let loose a reign of terror for the last 23 years. Yet Indians would like the world to believe that every thing is O. K. in Kashmir.

5. When Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was deposed from the Prime Ministership and arrested alongwith his trusted colleagues, the Government of India announced that it was an internal affair of the State and that Indian Government had no hand in these developements. Mr Nehru even shed some crocodile tears posing that the developments in

Kashmir had taken place without his knowledge. But the world knew well the weight behind Indian Governments contentions. Over a decade after the 1953 catastrophe, one of Nehru's own pets (General Kaul) showed to the world a glimpse of the behind-the-scene conspiracy that was hatched for Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's removal from the Political stage of Kashmir. Here is the summary of Kaul's version of the story.

In 1953 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah started saying that the Kashmir issue should be decided in accordance with the will of the people of Kashmir. This meant demand for independence to Kashmir. His statements worried Nehru who deputed Maulana Azad to Kashmir to persuade Abdullah to adopt a reasonable attitude but Azad failed in his mission. Towards the middle of July 1953, Mr. Durga Parshad Dhar (then a Deputy Minister in Sheikh Sahib's Cabinet and now India's Ambassador to Soviet Union) called on Nehru and apprised him of the lattest situation in Kashmir. Nehru rang Rafi Ahmad Qidwai, one of his cabinet Ministers and directed him to see Dhar. After Dhar-Qidwai meeting, the latter concluded that Sheikh Abdullah must be removed from his position in the best interests of India. Qidwai rang up Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and asked him to arrange a meeting of the two but the Sheikh did not agree to his proposal. On 25th July, Dhar met Qidwai again and told him that the situation in Kashmir was getting more and more serious.

They met Nehru who showed them a letter from Sheikh Abdullah who had, besides mentioning other things, contended that the situation created by India in Kashmir had caused great unrest and that though he held Nehru in great esteem, there arose situations in ones life when personal relations had to be sacrificed at the altar of national interests. Qidwai and Dhar decided before leaving Nehru's residence that serious steps should be taken in Kashmir. Dhar suggested that Kaul (who as the commander of the Kashmir National Militia had earned a bad reputation for maltreating Kashmiri Muslims and had been recalled from Kashmir on Sheikh Sahib's demand) should be sent to Kashmir to deal with the situation to which Mr Nehru agreed after some hesitation. Hated as he was by Abdullah, it was decided that Kaul should go to Kashmir as a tourist and not in his official capacity. He met Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who told him that the people of Kashmir wanted independence. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah also warned India of dire consequences if she did not change her policy towards Kashmir. Kaul then met Bukhshi, (Ghulam Mohammad), Dhar and Karan Singh (then Sadr-e-Riasat, President of the State). Dhar and Bakhshi told him that Abdullah had paid a visit to an area adjoining cease-fire-line where he had met some friends from accross the border and that a plan to arrest Dhar, Bakhshi and Sheikh's other opponents had been drawn. The plan also included, they said, that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah would declare independence of the State in a Press Conference.

Four Actors of 1953 Drama



Bukhshi Ghulam Mohd.



General B. M. Kaul



Karan Singh



D. P. Dhar



A Balti Girl in Her Regional Dress.

All the four discussed the situation until midnight and it was finally decided that strong steps should be taken before the Sheikh announced independence of the State. It was also decided that Nehru should be taken into confidence about the proposed steps. Telephonic conversation not being safe, Kaul decided to fly to Delhi despite bad weather which had made flight extremely dangerous. He reached Delhi on 2nd August and went straight to Nehru's residence as the time, he says, was very precious. He told Nehru what was happening in Kashmir and informed him of the decision taken by him, Karan Singh, Dhar and Bakhshi and flew back to Srinagar and informed Karan Singh and others of the details of his talks with Mr. Nehru. After further discussions they decided that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah should be arrested on 8th August. Due precautions including posting forces on Mahoora Power House and Srinagar Telephone Exchange were taken. Lt. Col. Baldev Singh and L. D. Thakar the Superintendent of Police were deputed to arrest the Sheikh who was then in Gulmarg. Sheikh Sahib and his Revenue Minister Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg were arrested in the early hours of 9th August 1953 and the erstwhile Prime Minister of the State and the spokesman of Kashmiri people, was rushed to Jammu in a police van as a prisoner. Kaul witnessed the scene of Sheikh Sahib being taken to Odhampur from a place out side Srinagar. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was immediately installed as the new Prime Minister. Here ends the summary of Kauls version of the story.

Kaul's version of the catastrophe is a bunch of lies, omissions, fabrications and exaggerations. He has not made even a formal mention of Indias going back upon her pledges given to the Sheikh and his people, he has criminally avoided mention of the mass massacre at the hands of India's forces of occupation that followed Sheikh's arrest and in which over 1100 men and women and children were killed. He has failed to mention the part played by Indian army in the conspiracy, he has also concealed the details of the criminal collusions that went on between Karan Singh's residence and New Delhi for months preceding the incident, he has also tried to make the world believe that Nehru did not know about Sheikhs arrest whereas his own story proves that all that was done with Nehru's consent. His story of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's collusions with Pakistanis is an afterthought and an intended concoction to justify his criminal deeds. He has ignored mention of the reign of terror that was let loose in Kashmir after Sheikh Shaib's arrest. Yet even this one-sided account of the conspiracy not only belies and radicules Indian official claims that the central leadership of India had no hand in these developments but also gives a glimpse of how India acted to remove from her way the erstwhile 'sole representative of Kashmiri people' only because he wanted India to honour her pledges.

What else if not treacheries and betrayals can Indias actions in Kashmir be termed? *Nevertheless TREACHERY IN THE END BETRAYS ITSELF.*

CHAPTER IV

The Solution

THE ANALYSIS

From the day the future of Jammu and Kashmir State took the shape of an international issue, different quarters from within and without have been proposing different solutions to the problem. The main proposals have been :

1. A plebiscite in the State for its accession to India or Pakistan.

2. An unlimited and unconditional plebiscite.

3. Division of the State between India and Pakistan on the basis of

(a) present position.

(b) Jammu and Ladakh to India, Azad Kash-

mir and Gilgit Baltistan to Pakistan and plebiscite in Kashmir Valley.

(c) Jammu and Ladakh to India, Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan to Pakistan and independence for the Valley.

4. Joint control of India and Pakistan on the State.

5. Confederation of India, Pakistan and Kashmir.

6. Giving entire State under U. N. Trusteeship.

7. Annexing Indian-held part by force.

8. Independence for the entire State.

Let us discuss the propriety, equitablity, feasibility and practicablity of these proposals. The approach has to be a realistic and unbiased one and keeping in view the essential ingredients of the issue as also the prevailing circumstances in and around the State.

Taking into consideration the basic nature of the issue and its related matters, the criterion for an equitable solution has to be that it should (1) be in full accordance with the unfettered will of the people of the State, (2) safeguard State's separate political and geographical entity, (3) afford due protection to the interests of its different reli-

gious, cultural, social and territorial sections, (4) ensure economic prosperity, political stability and social justice to the people, (5) guarantee a respectable status for the Kashmiri nation, (6) safeguard the strategic, economic and other interests of Pakistan and India, (7) help in easing the tension now prevailing between the two countries, and, (8) should not jeopardise the national ideologies of India and Pakistan. Let us now analyse the proposals in the light of these basic necessities.

A plebiscite on the issue of State's accession to India or Pakistan has been agreed to by both India and Pakistan under UN resolution of 5th January, 1947. But such a plebiscite firstly limits the choice of the people and debars them from chosing a third alternative *i.e.* independence of the State which a big section of Kashmiri intelligentsia thinks to be an ideal solution of the issue. Secondly, in a limited plebiscite, the State will lose its separate political entity and will, whether she likes it nor not, get merged with the country to which it accedes as has been the case with other princely states that acceded to India or Pakistan. Most of these states wanted to ertain their separate entity and internal autonomy, but were merged. Thirdly, the economic interests of the State call for its trade with both India and Pakistan but accession of the State to one of them deprives it of this economic necessity. Moreover, in case of accession of the State to one country or the other, one of the two main religious commu-

nities will be adversely affected and will have to leave the State. A limited plebiscite in the State therefore is contrary to the very basic and unavoidable preconditions to a just and equitable solution of the issue.

An unlimited and unconditional plebiscite in the State affording to the people, a choice for independence is by far an equitable solution though in case the people decide to accede to India or Pakistan, some of the basic conditions of a just solution will not be fulfilled. Yet the will of the people should rule supreme. They are politically conscious enough to judge and foresee things.

Division of the State on the basis of the present ceasefire line is complete negation of almost all the basic criteria of a just and equitable solution. It deprives the people of their right of self determination, shatters the entity of the State and darkens the future of over two million Muslims now living in Indian-held part of the State who rightly fear that once the Valley is merged with India permanently, the story of Jammu, Maharashtra and Ahmedabad will be repeated in Kashmir through mass massacre of Muslims at the hands of Indian Hindu Communist fanatics and Jansanghi predators.

Awardiny Jammu and Ladakh to India, Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan to Pakistan and independence of or plebiscite in the Valley also depri-

ves the people of the State of their self-determination right besides undoing the integrity of the State. It also cripples both the parts of the State economically.

The proposal of joint control of India and Pakistan over the State looks funny. With daggers drawn against each other and both claiming the State territory, joint control of India and Pakistan will turn Kashmir into a permanent battlefield. The proposal is ambigous and one wonders how it will at all work let alone the fact that it not only deprives Kashmiris of their inherent right to shape their future freely but makes them "double slaves.". It will not ease but add to the strain in indo-Pak. relations.

A confederation of India, Pakistan and Kashmir has been talked about quite often in recent years. Some big powers also seem to be interested in it. But such an arrangement is always preconditioned by willingness and eagerness on the part of all the federating nations and has got to be arranged on the basis of equal rights and status to all the federating nations. The size and populations of the three countries are so varying that equal rights to all the units *i.e.* India, Pakistan and Kashmir looks unjudicious, and on the other hand, proportionate control on the confederation will, besides being contrary of the usually practised principles of confederations, cause complete domination of India on Pakistan, and Kashmir

which neither Pakistan nor Kashmiris will like or agree to. A confederation with India will moreover kill the very purpose of establishment of Pakistan. Kashmiris can not be a party to even a step that harms Pakistan anyway, not to say of one that kills the very purpose of her creation.

Giving the State permanenlty under UN Trusteeship is also fraught with serious dangers. Kashmir is geographically and strategically very important for big powers located as it is in between powers with contrasting ideologies and divergent international strategem. The United Nations being dictated big powers, Kashmir may, during its control by the UN, be turned into a base by big powers for their cold and hot wars against each other. We cannot afford such a risk.

There are people in Pakistan who think that Pakistan should annex Indian-held Kashmir by force. Some Kashmiris also share this view. There are also some day-dreamers in India who advise their Government to conquer Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan through a military venture. But is that so easy to do ? Two wars on Kashmir have only subjected India and Pakistan to heavy losses is men and material without bringing to either of them any gains in Kashmir. A third war between the two countries can prove more disastrous for both as also for Kashmiris, without any substantial gain to any of them. This is besides the fact that forced annexa-

tion of Kashmir by India or Pakistan deprives the people of their right to shape their destiny without external pressure or influence. This proposal is a creation of imperialistic thinking and deserves to be condemned and rejected out right.

Independence of the entire State is the only device that satisfies almost all the basic requirements of a fair solution. It maintains the integrity of the State, ensures economic prosperity, political stability and social justice, guarantees fair dealing to all the religious, cultural, ethnical and territiorial sections of the State, ensures a respectable and dignified status for the nation, safeguards the interest of India and Pakistan, is apt to bridge the gulf of differences between the two countries and does not jeopardise either Pakistan's Two-nation Theory or India's so called Secularism. Although self-determination as practically us d in international political terminology means independence, yet it should be seen that independence is ratified by the people of the State through their freely expressed will as their will stands above every thing else. In case they reject the proposition, their decision should be adhered to.

THE CONCEPTION

The conception of independent Jammu and Kashmir is that it will be a United, Neutralized, Secular Federal Republic.

The independent Jammu and Kashmir will be

united in the sense that the State now divided into three parts *i.e.* Indian-held part, Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan will be reunited into a single political entity.

It will be neutralized in the sense that it will maintain friendly relations with all the countries in general and with its neighbours in particular. It will keep itself completely aloof from the territorial, economic, strategical and above all ideological disputes that might arise between different nations and blocs in general and between its neighbours in particular. Nevertheless neutralized Kashmir can prove a bridge between its strifing neighbours.

Neutralization of the State is necessiated by its political, geographical, strategic and religious position. She is surrounded by big powers any one of whom can overrun her any time in the absence of no-agression pacts with them. If she does not maintain complete neutrality and in the absence of a non-interference pact with her neighbours, she can well become the fighting ground of different political and economic ideologies. Complete neutrality is also necessary to avoid annoyance, genuine or unjust, of one power or the other, which her size and geographical position cannot afford.

Moreover, neutralization alone can save Kashmir from falling a prey to a regional or a world war. It was her neutralization alone that saved Switzer-

land from the horrors of two world wars, although it lay between two fighting giants anyone of whom could overrun her to make her its advance camp for attack on the other. But her neutralization kept even Hitler who plundered almost entire Europe, from attacking her although that would have afforded him with huge strategic advantages.

Kashmir has also to evolve a political and necessarily an economic system of her own as following a foreign economic system can jeopardise her neutrality. In this the Naya Kashmir, an economic manifesto adopted by the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in early Forties, can prove a guideline for framing a sound, practicable and scientific economic system ensuring prosperity and social and economic justice to the people of the State.

The State has got to have a secular set up since its population is composed of several religious groups and it is under a secular setup alone that the interests of all the sections can be safeguarded and freedom of faith and communal harmony guaranteed. It has got to be real secularism and not a fake one like India's.

The word 'Secular' is usually misinterpretted and confused with the word 'infidel' whereas the two words are completely different from each other in literal meaning as well as in their practical use.

The word 'Secular' (Gair Mazhabi) in political terminology means a system of government in which no religion rules supreme. All religions and religious groups of people enjoy equal political, social and economic rights. On the other hand "infidel" (Beydeen, Mulhid, Kafar, Mazhab say munkir) means a person who does not believe in a religion of God. Its synonym is 'athiest' and not 'secular'. The two words are completely different from each other in their literal meanings as well as in their practical application.

Whatever her theoretical claims, even Pakistan is a Secular State for practical purposes. Muslims and non-Muslims enjoy equal social, political, economic and religious rights. There is no bar for non-Muslims to become even the Prime Minister of Pakistan, though Presidency of the State was meant only for Muslims in Pakistan's abrogated constitutions. Non-Muslims have from time to time been on some key posts in Pakistan.

On his election as the first President of the Constitutent Assembly of Pakistan on 11th August 1947, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said "... If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there

will be no end to the progress you will make."

"I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community...will vanish."

"...You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any place of worship in the State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, caste or creed –that has nothing to do with the business of the State."

"...Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State." The Quaid has defined secularism in its true form.

Justice and equity demand that the State should be a federal one in order to afford full opportunities to the people of its different regions to administer their own areas and to eliminate the chances of domination, economic and political, of one region over the other. The State will be divided, as during Dogra rule, into the Provinces of Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Frontier Regions (Gilgit, Baltistan and Ladakh) each province enjoying maximum internal

anatomy. Each Province can be sub divided into districts and these districts will have their own internal arrangements. At the centre there should be a bicameral National Parliament with the Lower House having representation on the basis of population of different provinces and the Upper House equal represents. To this effect, the draft prepared by the Steering Committee of the Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Convention Srinagar can be implemented with some minor changes.

The State will be a republic since democratic values from the very base of Kashmiris' political struggle during the last four decades. Their political aptitude cannot approve of dictatorship or monarchy, nor do these systems suit the peculiar political, economic, social and geographical conditions of the State.

THE OBJECTIONS

Vested interests within and without the State have been and are opposing the independence. movement on one pretext or the other. Some say that independent Jammu and Kashmir cannot survive politically, and economically and cannot defend its integrity due to being surrounded by big and powerful nations. There are people who say that independent Jammu and Kashmir will be a hotbed of international intrigues. Most of Pakistanis argue that the entire State should from a part of Pakistan due

to its overwhelming Muslim majority whereas India claims that the State is her integral part, hence can not be parted with. Yet another section maintains that independence of Kashmir will strengthen the separatist tendencies in India and Pakistan. Let us weigh these arguments one by one.

Chances of survival

Chances of economic survival and stability of a nation depend upon its capacity to earn foreign exchange, its natural resources, chances of industrial and agricultural development and availability of skilled and unskilled manpower.

So far as Kashmir's capacity to earn foreign exchange is concerned, one can confidently say that a peaceful, neutralised independent Kashmir will earn foreign exchange far more than it might basically require. As a tourist paradise she will attract tourists from all over the world. Even today when comparatively very few tourists visit Kashmir due to continuous political uncertainty and ever-increasing apprehensions of disturbances, State's income from tourists forms a significant part of her total revenue. Once the State is free, the present political uncertainty off and some more tourist facilities made available, Kashmir is sure to attract hundreds of thousands of tourists every year and her foreign exchange earnings through it can go to hundreds of millions of rupees. Moreover there are about

forty thousand Kashmir nationals working in England alone who save as much as twenty million sterling every year which will naturally go to Kashmir adding about thirty crore rupees to State's foreign exchange earnings per annum. Kashmir exports will also find ready markets in foreign countries. Her wood-works, handicrafts, shawls, silk carpets, minerals, saffron, timber, fresh and canned fruit and other exportable commodities will earn for her huge amounts of foreign exchange. On the other hand, her foreign exchange requirements will be comparatively lesser than those of other nations as, being a a neutralised State, she will not have to spend huge amounts of foreign exchange on purchase of military aircraft, tanks and arms as other nations of Asia and Africa have to do, most of whom have to spend bulk of their income on their defence expenditure.

Kashmir is rich in natural resources and the prospects of speedy industrialisation and fast improvement in the agricultural production are very bright. Her forests provide big opportunities for establishment of pulp and paper industries, her climate fit for watch factories and her water resources offer bright proposals for hydro-electric power-generation. Research and practical exploration by geologists indicate presence in the State of large deposits of minerals including copper, sulphur, borax, gypsum, coal, gas, ligmite, lime-stone, brauxite, lead, zink, iron and precious stones. Medicinal herbs of a large variety are available in abundance.

Once the agricultural system is put on a scientific footing, Kashmir can export a large quantity of food-grains.

Precentage of literacy and availability of skilled manpower in the State is, even at present, far larger than that of many parts of India and Pakistan. This potential can be fully utilized for industrial, agricultural and mineral development. Unskilled labour too is in abundance. All these assets and advantages are a sound guarantee for economic prosperity, not to say of only survival, of independent Jammu and Kashmir. As a matter of fact, independent Kashmir will be economically far stronger than she will be in case she forms a part of India or Pakistan. The economic interests of the State call for trade with both India and Pakistan. Kashmir's one of the main exports, fruit, may not find a favourable market in Pakistan as West Pakistan produces fruit in abundance, though in some cases of an inferior quality. East Punjab, Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta on the other hand consume a large quantity of Kashmir fruit. Same is the case with some other Kashmir exports like timber etc. which can be sent to Pakistan on a lesser expense due to short distance and better and economical modes of transportation. Same is true for imports. Some of the importable commodities are cheaper in India while others in Pakistan. Above all, the tourist industry, the backbone of Kashmir's economy, calls for the State to be open to tourists from both India and Pakistan who will form bulk of

tourists to visit Kashmir.

The apprehension of political instability is equally baseless. Kashmiris are politically conscious enough to judge their national interests. As nationals of a secular and nationalist State, all the political, religious, cultural, regional and linguistic groups will enjoy equal opportunities and full protection from the State. They will enjoy full freedom and internal autonomy to avoid any possibility of one section or one region dominating the other.

Defence of State's frontiers will not be a big problem too since as a neutralized State, Kashmir will have bi-lateral pacts of non-aggression, peaceful co-existence and non-interference with all her neighbours. Switzerland follows a similar policy which saved her from the horrors of two world wars and a number of regional conflicts. Neutralisation of the Jammu and Kashmir State will on one hand eliminate the dangers of invasion by her giant neighbours and on the other hand save her from incuring heavy defence expenses which in some countries comprise as much as 60 percent of their budgets.

The apprehensions of the State becoming a hotbed of international intrigues is also unfounded. She will be having pacts with big powers to the effect that they will not use her as a base for hatching conspiracies against each other. Switzerland, the only other neutralized nation never became a

hotbed of international intrigues although she has been a dreamland and place of assylum for international political fugitives. Even if there is possibility of international conspiracies in Kashmir, how does that justify denying freedom to her. In the present day time, in almost every country, small or big, there are always intrigues, should that mean that all these countries should abandon their freedom and merge themselves with the United States, Soviet Union or Peoples China? There have been international intrigues in both India and Pakistan. Chinese and Russian Communism and American CIA have been very active in both these countries. As a matter of fact most of the Indian and Pakistani political parties are known as pro-Russia, pro-China or pro-US parties. Does all this mean that both India and Pakistan should have remained under British subjugation to avoid this position ? If not, why should the lame excuse be applied to Kashmir alone.?

In the light of aforesaid facts it can be safely said that indepencent Jammu and Kashmir will be economically, politically and otherwise in a far better position than she will be in case of her accession to India or Pakistan.

Accession to Pakistan

The State no doubt has an overwhelming majority of Muslims. Had this territory been a part of British India, it would have definitely formed a part

of Pakistan. But it was a princely State which enjoyed the right either to join India or Pakistan or to declare independence after the British left the sub-continent. This right was conceded to the States under the Indian Independence Act 1947. It was on the basis of this right that Pakistan had supported the independence move of Hyderabad State. It was also under this right that Pakistan had accepted the accession of Junagadh and Manawadar. Had population been the sole criterion for deciding state's future, Pakistan should have not accepted the accession of Hindu majority States of Junagadh and Manawadar, nor supported the independence of Hyderabad which had an overwhelming majority of Hindus. Why should two different standards be used in case of Kashmir and Hyderabad?

Theoretical arguments apart, is accession of the entire State to Pakistan so easy a job now, even if Pakistanis and Kashmiris want it to be so ? It is one thing to aspire for an end and quite different to achieve it in the face of unsurmountable handicaps.

Integral Part of India

India's plea of Jammu and Kashmir being her integral part carries no moral, legal, political or constitutional sanction or justification. The so-called 'accession' by the despotic ruler or its 'ratification' by the fraudulent 'Kashmir Assembly' can neither replace the promised fair and impartial plebiscite nor can they substitute the basic principles

and requirements of the right of self-determination as :

(a) The so-called 'accession' was devoid of popular support, coercive and conditional, and the condition of referring the issue of State's future to popular vote has not yet been fulfilled.

(b) The so-called 'Kashmir Assembly' had no right, legal or constitutional, to ratify the fake accession of the State to India since :

(i) The fake 'Assembly' not being representative of the people of even the Indian-held part of the State, not to say of about two million State-nationals living on this side of the cease fire line, was vested with no constitutional right to decide about such an important issue as the future of the entire State.

(ii) India's Prime Minister and her representative at the United Nations had declared that any decision taken or recommendations made by the so-called 'Kashmir Assembly' regarding the future of the State could neither be constitutional or legal nor would they be accepted by Government of India.

(c) The pledges given by India to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, to Pakistan, to the Uuited

Nations and to the world at large—the pledges of having a free and impartial plebiscite held in the State under the United Nations auspices were never fulfilled.

India's claim of Kashmir being her integral part is hence baseless, unfounded, illogical, unfactual and absured.

Separatist Tendencies

It is sometimes said that independence to Jammu and Kashmir State is apt to give vent to and strengthen the separatist tendencies in India and Pakistan. Well, how would have the Indian National Congress and All-India Muslim League reacted if the British had refused freedom to the sub-continent on the plea that that would encourage other nations of Asia and Africa under British control to demand freedom from British occupation. Both parties would have surely radiculed the British plea as an imperialistic pretention and a lame excuse in order to perpetuate her occupation of the sub-continent. How do therefore Indians and Pakistanis put forward a similar plea in case of Kashmir?

Jammu and Kashmir State has acceded neither to India nor to Pakistan. Had the State been constitutionally and legally an integral part of India or Pakistan, they could oppose her secession. But neither of them can constitutionally, legally or

morally oppose her independence since the State belongs to neither of them.

Even if independence of Jammu and Kashmir strengthens separatist tendencies in India and Pakistan, how does that justify denying freedom to her? Separatist tendencies will get momentum whether or not Kashmir gets independence, if the advanced areas and sections in India and Pakistan continue to suppress the backward regions and communities, deprive them of their political rights and keep them economically paralysed. The best and the only way to discourage, check and eliminate separatism is to meet the genuine demands of the aggrieved sections and areas. Denying freedom to Kashmir can neither help check these tendencies nor is it any way related to them. These are imperialistic excuses often resorted to by the colonialistic powers to perpetuate their hold on their freedom-fighting colonies.

CHAPTER V

The Independence Movement

To a person not well informed about the details of the political history of Kashmir, the demand of independence of the State may look a new one but it is not actually so. Kashmiris' independence movement is as old as their vassalage itself. Nevertheless the idea could not take the shape of an organised and momentous national movement until 1946. The main cause behind it was that the usurpers of Kashmiris' freedom were hundred times stronger and to add to it, they used all imperialistic devices to crush their urge for freedom. But judging from the speed with which the demand has been gaining popularity in recent years, it can be safely said that it

will not be long before the erstwhile feeble idea takes the shape of Kashmiris strongest national movement. Let us have a brief account of its history.

Kashmiris have been trying to regain their freedom from the day they lost it. But circumstantially handicapped as they were, they could not start a well co-ordinated and organised movement until 1946 when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah launched the first concerted and potential offensive to break the shackles of slavery. The movement was anyhow crushed with a stern hand by the autocratic ruler who himself became a staunch supporter of Kashmir's independence a year later but was compelled by external forces to fall into India's lap. Ram Chandra Kak, an intelligent Pundit of Srinagar and the first native Prime Minister of the State was an exponent of indepennence of the State but was removed from his post just four days before British Suzerainty over the State lapsed. He had earlier outwitted even Mountbatten and had foiled his ventures to win over Hari Singh to India's side. With his removal, Kashmir lost the services of a genious nationalist and most of the responsibility for the loss lies on National Conference leaders especially Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad who had pre-conditioned Kak's removal from Prime Ministership to a compromise with Mr. Gandhi about [Kashmir's future. The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Working Committee passed a resolution in 1946, demanding independence of the State. The

Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of the organisation sent a telegram to the Maharaja on 6th July, 1947 saying "Heartiest Congratulations on the reported independence decision. I hope that announcement to this effect will be made soon." On July, 18 and 19, a hurriedly called session of the General Council which was challenged by some members, passed a resolution by majority vote, calling for internal autonomy to the State with defence, currency and foreign affairs going to Pakistan. The session was advised by Ch. Ghulam Abbas, then in jail, through a letter, to vote for independence but his advice was ignored. Nevertheless the General Council accepted independence of the State as one of the possible solutions of the issue.

In 1951 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah convened a Constituent Assembly which framed a constitution according a semi-independent status to the State and it was generally understood that that was the first step towards complete independence. Mr. Nehru had hinted in Indian Parliament towards independence of the State and his representative at the United Nations had gone a step further saying that Kashmiris had a right to seek membership of the United Nations. But Sheikh Sahib committed the blunder of relying blindly on Indian leaders' apparent sincerity towards him and kept the sovereignty of the State in ambiguity. This flaw was later made use of by Indian leaders to tighten their grip on Kashmir. Smelling Indian leaders' nefarious designs, the Na-

tional Conference put forward on 9th June 1953, four alternate solutions of the Kashmir issue including outright independence for the entire State. But within two months, Sheikh Sahib was removed from the Prime Ministership alongwith his trusted compatriots and the independence movement got relegated to oblivion as the remaining members of his party joined hands with the usurpers of their freedom. Though the struggle against Indian forced occupation continued, the independence idea got buried under the debris of Sheikh Sahib's Government. It was in 1963 after ten years that the voice could be heard again when 125 political workers from the Valley appealed to the Governments of India and Pakistan during the 1962-63 Indo-Pak ministerial talks on Kashmir, to let Kashmir emerge as an independent State. Most of the papers read in the first and second plenary sessions of the Jammu and Kashmir State Peoples Convention held in Srinagar in October 1968 and June 1970 respectively and participated by the representatives of almost all shades of public opinion, demanded independence of the State. The draft constitution prepared by the Steering Committee of the Convention for the State starts with the sentence, "There should be a Head of the State whose nomenclature and functions may be set out in the Constitution". The Constitution Sub-Committee of the Steering Committee consisted of Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Pundit Prem Nath Bazaz and Balraj Puri. An Organization, the Kashmir Independence Party (K.I.P.) has circulated a printed

manifesto for independence of the State. The manifesto is a document on Kashmir's political and economic position. Another youth organisation, the Kashmir Independence Movement is also reported to be working in the Valley. Given some assurances by India, Pakistan and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, even people like G. M. Sadiq, Moulvi Farooq, Bakhsi Ghulam Mohammad and others may well support the idea. When asked by a reporter in New Delhi recently Molvi Farooq is reported to have said that Kashmiris had a right to demand independence. Mir Qasim, until recently the President of Pardes Congress and the man who has several times been hinted to succeed G. M. Sadiq as the Chief Minister of Indian-held part of the State, when asked by press in Paris in 1965 about his views about independence of the State, said that he would like it 'provided Pakistan gave an assurance that she would not attack independent Kashmir.' Generally speaking the intelligentsia in Indian-held part is fast gathering round the independence demand

On this side of the cease-fire line, *i.e.* in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan, the idea is as old as the Azad Kashmir Government itself. Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar Anwar, the Founder-President of the Provisional Government has been a staunch supporter of independence. In Fifties he used to preach the idea through a weekly which he edited. He was arrested in 1959 and the weekly closed. Another Kashmiri journalist Mr. Sanaullah Butt (now editor daily

'Aftaab' Srinagar) advocated independence of the State. He was arrested during the Presidentship of Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan and pushed over to Indian-held side, as a punishment for his alleged secret talks with a British Parliamentary delegation asking them to support the independence demand. Mir Abdul Aziz, another jaurnalist supported the idea but was arrested in 1959 and his paper closed. On his release he started two weeklies one each in Urdu and English and publicised the independence idea until 1968 when he changed his views and floated a pocket organisation at the instance of some vested interests. His organisation demands a plebiscite in the State on the question of State's accession to India or Pakistan. The Weekly 'Naee Sahar' of Mirpur, Azad Kashmir was an exponent of independence but was closed after all its concerned people including Abdul Khaliq Ansari, Soofi Zaman, Maqbool Khawar and Bashir Tabassum were arrested during the agitation against Mangla Dam. Mir Abdul Rashid brought out a fortnightly 'Free Kashmir'. This paper also advocated independence but was soon closed on 'technical grounds'. The weekly 'Woolar' of Sialkot also preached the idea. The office of the paper as also the residence of its editor, Mr. Majeed Amjad Butt, was bombed by Indian Air force in 1965 war. The editor migrated to Karachi and in the process the declaration of the paper lapsed. It could not be revived for 'technical reason' despite Mr. Butt's efforts for a long time. In 1961 this author brought out an English language monthly

news and views magazine, the 'Voice of Kashmir'. The magazine contained articles and editorials advocating independence of the State. The magazine was closed in 1963 and could not be revived.

The first political party demanding independence of the State was the Jammu and Kashmir Republican Party headed by Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar. This organisation could not expand its activities or function for long. The Jammu and Kashmir Awami Conference headed by Mr. Abdul Khaliq Ansari also advocated the idea. In 1963 another party named the Jammu and Kashmir Independence Committee was formed. This party demanded neutralized independence of the State and its fifteen-member Central Committee included two members of the Azad Kashmir State Council, five journalists, three advocates and some active political workers and retired officers of the Azad Government. It held a number of public meetings in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan. It was headed by Khwaja G. M. Loan, then a State Councillor and later Senior Vice-President of the Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front (for Azad Kashmir and Pakistan) and its other members were Qazi Khurshid Alam (State Councillor), Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar, Abdul Khaliq Ansari, Majeed Malik, Amanullah Khan, Mir Abdul Qayyum, Mir Abdul Aziz, Mir Abdul Rashid, M. A. Farooq, Majeed Amjad Butt, Mohammad Saeed Nazki, Sheikh Mohammad Saleem, Dr. Ghulam Ahmad Jarrah and Ali Mohammad Malik. This Committee

also could not function for long for various and obvious reasons.

The first-ever Presidential elections in Azad Kashmir were held in 1961. There were about half a dozen candidates in the field out of whom two (Mr. K. H. Khurshid and Peer Ali Jan Shah) advocated recognition of Azad Government, Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar pleaded for outright independence whereas Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan preached accession to Pakistan. The demand for recognition was interpretted by its supporters secretly and by its opponents openly, as the first step towards independence of the State. Mr. Khurshid had pledged in his manifesto that he would get the Azad Kashmir Government recognised and establish diplomatic missions atleast in world capitals of political importance. 2400 'basic democrats', 1200 each from Azad Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir refugees living in Pakistan, formed the electoral college. Of these 2400 votes, Mr. Khurshid got 950, Sardar Qayyum 924, Peer Ali Jan Shah 390, Ghulam Nabi Gilkar 29 and Mr. Daud 7. Mr. Khurshid and Sardar Qayyum were the leading figures with the former in power and having a very attractive election manifesto and the latter supported by All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, then strongest organisation on this side of the cease-fire line. He was also supported by late Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas. Peer Ali Jan Shah enjoyed the support of Sardar Ibrahim Khan. The fact that Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar who was

for independence of the State, got only 29 votes in no way indicates the real picture of the strength of the idea. Firstly, since the demand for recognition slogan (which received over 55 percent of the total number of votes) was interpretted to be the idea of independence in a different guise, most of the 'independentists' voted for Mr. Khurshid who, for various reasons, had better chances of winning. Moreover Mr. Gilkar had some personal drawbacks which stood in his way. He is an Ahmadi by faith and orthodox people consider Ahmadi faith to be contrary to the general principles of Islam. This was not for the first time that his religious faith stood in the way of a candidate. Even late John F. Kennedy of U.S.A. lost most of Protestant votes in the Presidential elections of 1960 only because he was a Roman Catholic by faith. Another reason for Mr. Gilkar getting so small number of votes was that being a poor man he could not arrange due publicity which is one of the most important ingredients of election campaigns these days nor did he enjoy the support of press or any political party. It is therefore surprising that, being circumstantially so much handicapped, Mr. Gilkar got even these 29 votes. This number no way represents the strength of independence idea. As a matter of fact and since recognition slogan was considered to be the twin-sister of independence, it got more than 55 percent of votes whereas accession slogan got only 39 percent. In the State Council elections which was boycotted by Muslim Conference in the sense that it

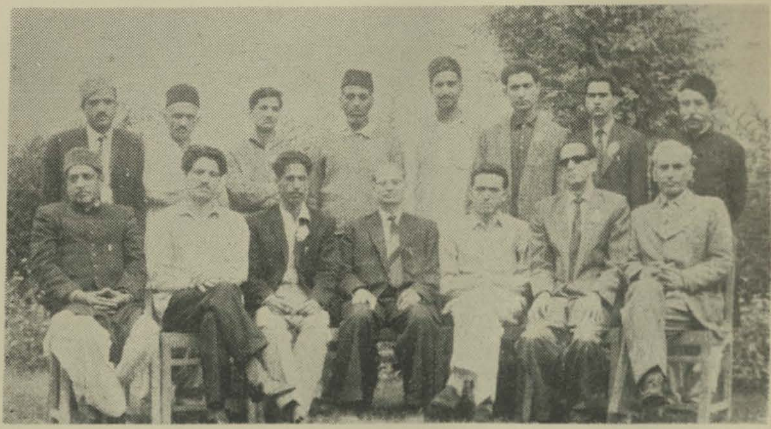
did not contest elections though its voters cast their votes, two candidates who got highest number of votes from Kashmir and Jammu refugee constituencies respectively, advocated independence of the State.

After being elected to the Presidentship of Azad Kashmir, Mr. Khurshid organised a party and named it as the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League which adopted Mr. Khurshid's election manifesto as its Aims and Objectives. After Mr. Khurshid's removal from the Presidentship in August 1964, the Liberation League remained almost paralysed for about two years until its revival in 1966. Though the recognition demand still forms the backbone of the Liberation League manifesto, the interpretation of the term has been changed considerably. Whereas Mr. Khurshid's election manifesto said that the Azad Government would establish diplomatic missions in world capitals of political importance after its recognition, which implied that the Azad Government would be a fully independent government, the present interpretation is that the Azad Government should be recognised as the successor of Hari Singh's Government. This interpretation is confusing as neither did Hari Singh have diplomatic missions abroad, nor have world powers or even smaller nations to do anything with the problem whether the Srinagar 'Government' or the Azad Government is the successor of Hari Singh's Government as neither was Hari Singh's Government an indepen-



A Polo Match in Gilgit.

Some Founder-members of P. F. Sialkot 1965.



Sitting (L to R) G. N. Gilkar, Maqbool Butt, Majid A. Butt A. K. Ansari, Amanullah, G. M. Khan, I. U. K. Jaswal
Standing (L to R) M. D. Asar, Soofi Zaman, Bashir Bhatti Ch. M. Hussain, Master A. Rahman, Yousuf Sani, Ch. Ghafoor, G. M. Banka.

Some Delegates to P. F. Convention Mirpur 1966.



Sitting (L to R) Mufti Ziauddin, Loan, Mannan, Aman, Banka, Majeed, Farooq, Aslam, Amin Beg.
Standing Shamim, Ahad, Sadiq, Siddiq, Khalid, Nazki, Nehvi, Hasrat Ladakhi, Mufti, Asghar, Rashid.

dent one nor is any of the two governments. It is only an independent government that can be internationally recognised. Another deviation is that Mr. Khurshid and his Liberation League now say that they stand for State's accession to Pakistan and that recognition of the Azad Government is a means to that end. Whereas Mr. Khurshid had snubbed a journalist on latter's objection to absence of any reference to accession to Pakistan in Mr. Khurshid's oath that he took as the elected President of Azad Kashmir in 1961, his nominee Raja Zulqarnain while being inducted to office as a Minister of Azad Government in 1969, took the oath of working for State's accession to Pakistan.

Mr. Khurshid is an intelligent man. He has a thorough grasp on Kashmir issue and can well judge the implications of international trends. He possesses a broad out-look, far above regionalism and tribalism. But unfortunate for him and unfortunate for Kashmiris, he miserably lacks in some qualities that form the very basic necessities for the leaders of a struggling nation. Besides, his policies quite often cross the boundaries of diplomacy and enter the field of duplicity.

The Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front (for Azad Kashmir and Pakistan) advocates unlimited and unconditional right of self-determination which they interpret as Kashmiris' right to choose between accession to India or Pakistan and Independence.

The manifesto of the Jammu and Kashmir National Liberation Front (JKNLF) reads, "The JKNLF will struggle peacefully as well as through armed resistance for securing for the people of Jammu and Kashmir a position in which they will decide about its future as the sole masters of their homeland."

The Jammu and Kashmir State nationals living in England have formed an organisation, the Kashmir Independence Movement which preaches independence for the State. The organisation has its branches in other countries too. It is headed by Chaudhary Abdul Rahman of Mirpur, Azad Kashmir. The proposals sent by its Secretary, Mr. Sultan Ali Shah, to the Second Plenary Session of the Jammu and Kashmir State Peoples Convention held in Srinagar in June 1970, demanded independence for the State. Mr. Shah publishes a periodical, the 'Front' which has been advocating independence for Kashmir.

History is replete with evidence that an idea that gets popular with the youth and intellectuals of a nation soon takes the shape of the most momentous movement of that nation. The fact that the idea of independence of the State is fast attracting the Kashmiri youth and intelligentsia, in and outside the State, strengthens the hope that it will not be long before the erstwhile feeble idea emerges as Kashmiris' strongest national movement.

CHAPTER VI

The Commitments

Both India and Pakistan stand committed to independence of Jammu and Kashmir State. The Independence Act of India 1947, under which the British suzerainty over Indian states lapsed on 14th August 1947 and these States became free to choose their future without any coercion from outside, was not only accepted by India and Pakistan but was the very law under which India and Pakistan came to being as independent nations. The Act had neither limited nor conditioned the future of the princely States to accession to India or Pakistan. Having accepted the Indian Independence Act of 1947 in its letter and spirit, both the countries stood committed to accept any decision that a princely state might have taken about its future, including declaring its independence. Under the U. N. resolution of 13th

August 1948, to which both India and Pakistan were signatories, 'd....plebiscite was to be held in Jammu and Kashmir to determine the future status of the State,' which clearly included independence. The word 'Unfettered self-determination' was used in almost all official correspondence on the issue between India, Pakistan and the United Nations. Moreover the international interpretation of the word 'self-determination' which has been accepted by both India and Pakistan clearly maintains that this right of a nation can neither be limited, conditioned, fettered, nor circumscribed. For practical purposes, self-determination means only independence. While refering to the independence of a number of Afro-Asian nations, the Indian and Pakistani diplomats have always used the term 'Self-determination'. If self-determination of African nations means their independence, why should the word be differently interpretted in case of Kashmir?

Besides these generalised commitments, both India and Pakistan have, on a number of occasions, committed themselves in clear and unequivocal terms to independence of the State. Let us quote a few of such commitments.

On 15 January 1948, the leader of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, while addressing the Security Council, said "....Whether she (Kashmir) should withdraw from her accession to India, either accede to India or remain indepen-

dent with a right to claim admission as a member of the United Nations, all this we have recognised to be a matter of unfettered decision by the people of Kashmir after normal life is restored there".

In a report to the All-India Congress Committee on 9th July 1951, Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, said, "Kashmir has been wrongly looked upon as a prize for India and Pakistan. People seem to forget that Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered. It has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future. It is here today that a struggle is being fought, not in the battlefield but in the minds of men".

On 3rd February 1948, India's Permanent Representative to United Nations told the Security Council on behalf of the Government of India, "As the Security Council is aware the Government of India is fully committed to the view that, after peace is restored and all people belonging to the State have returned there, a free plebiscite should be taken and the people should decide whether they wish to remain with India or go over to Pakistan or remain independent, if they choose to do so."

These are only a few of numerous pledges that India gave for independence of Jammu and Kashmir.

There could not be a greater authority than the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to represent

the official policy of All-India Muslim League or that of the Government of Pakistan. He issued a policy statement in New Delhi on 17th June, 1947 and it was carried by almost all Indian papers on 18th June 1947. The Pakistan Times, Lahore banner-headlined it. Following is the text of the news as published in the Pakistan Times on 18-6-1947.

"States can choose to be Independent"

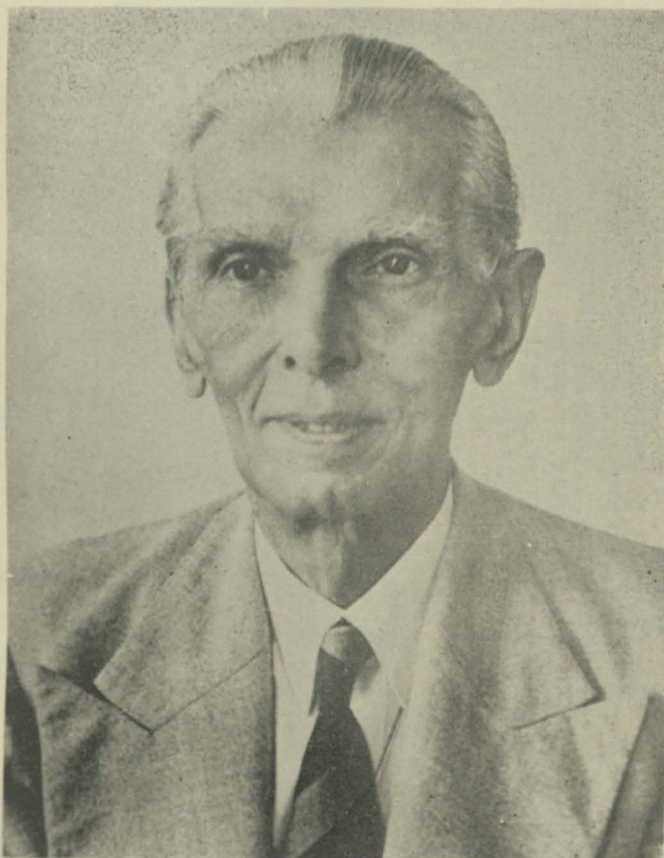
"Option not Limited to Hindustan or Pakistan. Paramountcy will terminate but cannot be transferred. Jinnah clarifies Muslim League view point".

"New Delhi June 17; With the termination of Paramountcy, Indian States would be free either to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or to remain independent, declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of All-India Muslim League in a statement today.

"Mr. Jinnah said, 'There is a great deal of controversy going on with regard to the Indian States and I am therefore obliged to state the position of All-India Muslim League so that there is no misunderstanding as to what the Muslim League stands for and what our policy is with regard to the Indian States.

"Constitutionally and legally the Indian States will be independent sovereign states on the termi-

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.



He wanted Kashmir to remain independent. For details see pages 172-173.

QUAID-E-AZAM IN SRINAGAR 1944



(**Sitting on the GroundL to R**) 1. G. M. Hamadani 2. Agha Syed Ahmad 4. G. M. Jeweller 7. G. M. Shah 8. M. A. Farooq 9. Mohammad Amin 10. M. A. Hameed 11. G. M. Shora (**Chairs**) 1. Shiekh Anwar 2. M. Kak 3. K. G. Sayiedain 4. Nazir Ahmad Khan 5. Begum K. A. Hakim 6. Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah 7. Mohtarima Fatima Jinnah 8. Khalifa A. Hakeem 9. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah 10. M. H. Gazdar 11. M. Ashraf (**Standing 1st Row**) 1. Mian Jalaluddin 4. Ghulam Mohd. 5. Qazi Ghulamuddin 8. Qazi Saifuddin 9. Tayeb Shah Siddiqui 11. Ghulam Mehdi 12. Mir Ghulam Mohd 13. G. A. Mukhtar 14. M. M. Afzal Beg (**2nd Row**) 3. M. Amin Buchh 9. Azimuddin Muttoo 10. Mir Hidayatullah 11. Dr. Nazirul Islam (**3rd Row**) 1. Prof. Saifuddin 2. Mohammad Yousuf Buchh 3. Habib Khan 4. Prof. M. A. Aziz 6. Hakeem Murtaza 7. G. M. Sadiq

nation of Paramountcy and they will be free to decide for themselves to adopt any course they like; it is open to them to join Hindustan Constituent Assembly, or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or decide to remain independent. In the last case they can enter into such arrangements or relationship with Hindustan or Pakistan as they choose".

"The policy of All-India Muslim League has been clear from the very beginning. We do not wish to interfere with the internal affairs of any state, for that is a matter primarily to be resolved between the rulers and the people of the States. Such states as wish to enter the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of their free will and desire to discuss or negotiate with us, shall find us ready and willing to do so. If they wish to remain independent, and wish to negotiate or adjust any political or any other relationship, such as commercial or economic relations with Pakistan, we shall be glad to discuss with them and come to a settlement, which will be in the interest of both.

"I am clearly of the opinion that the Cabinet Mission memorandum of May 12, defining the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the Indian States, does not in any way limit them as it is often wrongly interpretted that they have no option except to join one or the other Constituent Assembly. In my opinion they are free to remain independent, if they so desire; neither the British Government nor

the British Parliament nor any other power or body can compel them to do anything contrary to their free will and accord, nor have they any power or sanction of any kind to do so.

"The British Government have made it clear that Paramountcy will not be transferred to any Government or Governments or any authority that may be set up in the British India and that itself shows that Paramountcy cannot be transferred but is going to terminate. On its termination, the full sovereign status of Indian states emerges. API".

The All-India States Muslim League in its Working Committee resolution on 8th July 1947 also advocated Indian States' right for independence.

Late Chaudhary Hamidullah Khan, then Acting President of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, accompanied by Mr. Ishaq Qureshi called on the Quaid-e-Azam in New Delhi on July 10, 1947 to apprise him of the situation in Kashmir. After the meeting Quaid-e-Azam issued a statement exclusively about Kashmir condemning atrocities on the Muslims of Kashmir and reiterating the stand of All India Muslim League about the future of Kashmir. He said, "The second question that is engaging the attention of the Muslims of Kashmir is whether Kashmir is going to join the Constituent Assembly of Hindustan or Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. I have already made it clear more than once that the

Indian states are free to join either the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or remain independent. I have no doubt that the Maharaja and the Kashmir Government will give their closest attention and consideration to this matter and realise the interests not only of the ruler but also of his people. We have made it clear that we are not going to coerce, intimidate or put any pressure on any state in making its choice. But those states which wish to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly will find us ready and willing to negotiate with them agreement for the mutual advantage of both. Those who wish to declare their complete independence may be beneficial for both and secure mutual and reciprocal interest".

It was perhaps under directions from the Quaid-e-Azam that Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, who was then in jail, wrote to the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Convention held in Srinagar on July 19, 1947, advising it to resolve to support independence of the State. Chaudhary Hamidullah, who presided over the convention and who had discussed the issue with the Quaid-e-Azam only a week earlier, strongly advocated independence of the State. He was supported by some senior members of the Conference. A section of members opposed it and on voting, majority of delegates voted against it and the Convention passed a resolution supporting accession to Pakistan though accepting that independence also was one of the possible solutions.

The policy of the Muslim League regarding Indian States was adopted by the Government of Pakistan. It was in keeping with this policy that Pakistan fully supported Hyderabad's move for independence.

Former President of Pakistan Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan when asked by press reporters in New York during his visit to that country in July, 1961 said that Kashmiris had a right to emerge as an independent nation.

It is therefore clear that both India and Pakistan stand committed morally and otherwise not to oppose independence of Jammu and Kashmir.

CHAPTER VII

Independence And Kashmiris

Independence of the State is at present being opposed by a large section of people and leaders in Kashmir. These people and leaders are basically divided into two distinct categories. The first category consists of those who sincerely want the State to form a part of Pakistan or India. Muslims in this category think that Kashmiri Muslims' future is safe with Pakistan only. On the other hand the non-muslims of this category sincerely believe that the interests of non-muslims will be endangered if the State forms a part of Pakistan or even if it becomes independent as the State has an overwhelming Muslim majority. They fear that they will lose freedom of faith and expression in both the cases. If approached with sound arguments and convinced that independence is in the best interests of Kashmiri

people as well as of India and Pakistan, this category of people will sooner or later favour the idea. All that is required is to approach them with reason, fairness and sincerity of purpose.

The second category comprises of these hypocrites and opportunists who blindly follow the policies of Indian or Pakistan Governments vis-a-vis the idea not because their conscience (if at all they have one) approves of it but because their material interests call for it. Since the Governments of India and Pakistan are at present averse to the idea of independence of the State, these opportunists oppose the idea publicly just to please the authorities. In their private talks, however, specially when talking to an independentist, most of them fully support the idea. A section of this class resorts to use of multi-meaning words and phrasology so that it could be interpretted according to occasions and circumstances. This is as immoral as open duplicity. Interestingly enough they term this dublicity, hypocricy and opportunism as diplomacy and statesmanship.

This class of opportunists and double-faced people is found in every society and in every nation. They gain timely benefits but ultimately fade but condemned and cursed. Their peculiarity is that they change their stands with the change of government policies. They possess nothing of moral courage of spirit or sacrifice for national cause since material gain in the shape of monetary benefits or

power is their actual aim of life. Once the Governments of India and Pakistan get favourably disposed to the idea of independence of Kashmir, these people will pose to be the staunchest supporters of independence movement and will spare no opportunity to prove that they had always supported the idea mentioning the instances of their erstwhile private talks as evidence. No heed has therefore to be paid to this class as neither does their opposition carry any weight nor is their support of any avail.

Leaving aside the quantum of the present support and opposition to the idea, for it will go on changing with the change of circumstances specially with acceleration in the momentum of the movement, let us discuss the overall advantages that independence is going to confer on the Kashmiri nation on the whole.

First of all, only an independent Jammu and Kashmir State can ensure safeguard of religious, cultural, economic and political interests of all the religious groups inhabiting the State. Being a secular and democratic one, it will be the constitutional and moral responsibility of the State to afford full religious freedom, economic opportunities and political liberty to all its citizens irrespective of their faith, and creed. In case of State's accession to Pakistan, the non-muslims of the state may not, rightly or wrongly, feel to receive due protection to their religious or cultural freedom. On the other

hand, State's permanent alignment with India will endanger the interests of Muslims who form 80 per-cent of its population. They have before them the examples of Jammu, Maharastra, Ahmedabad, Jabal-pur and Rudki as also the ever-mounting frenzy of India's communalist fanatics who unfortunately form the bulk of her population. Independence of the State alone can therefore provide safeguard to the interests of all communities.

The overall economic interests of the State call for having trade relations with both India and Pakis-tan. Some of Kashmir's exports may find no market in India but a good one in Pakistan besides costing less carriage expenses due to shorter distance and cheaper means of transportation. On the other hand, some of Kashmir products may find no market or may find tough competition in Pakistan but a good and less competitive one in India. Similarly imports from and through one country may cost far lesser than those from and through the other. Above all, the tourist industry which forms the backbone of Kashmir's economy can flourish well only if the State is open to tourists from both India and Pakis-tan. It is therefore evident that independence is in the best economic interests of the State.

Independence of the State can bring India and Pakistan closer to each other since by conceding it neither of them will have a feeling of defeat at the hands of the other. Even if the strained relations

continue, the independent and neutralised Jammu and Kashmir may, as a friendly neutral neighbour, be well in position to bridge the gulf between the two thearby bringing peace and prosperity to the 600 million people of the sub-continent.

Kashmiris are blessed by nature with numerous extraordinary qualities but continued slavery, suppression and poverty have kept them from proving their worth. Those who left the suffocating atmosphere of the State and settled in British India having comparatively a freer atmosphere, rose to climax in almost all walks of life including politics philosophy, poetry, literature, diplomacy and sports. Few among such renowned men of Kashmiri origin are Dr. Iqbal, the Poet Phillosopher; Pandit Nehru; Agha Hashr, the Indian Shakespeare, Maulana Anwarshah, the 'moving library'; Gama the Rustum-e-Zaman and Dr. Saifuddin Kichloo, the great humanist. Even Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah owes his present stature to a great extent to the political nourishment that he received at Lahore and Aligarh. Once Kashmir gets real freedom, every Kashmiri will be able to avail of the opportunities that freedom offers, to make best use of his natural gifts of art, deligence and intelligence.

As a neutralised independent State, full of enchanting beauty and sanatory climate, Kashmir will offer ideal political, geographical and climatic conditions for international conferences where

statesmen and diplomats from all over the world in general and from Afro-Asian countries in particular will assemble and solve complicated international problems concerning betterment of humanity and maintenance of peace with justice. The peculiar conditions which neutralized, beautiful and pleasant Kashmir offers will pay an effective role in making these conferences a success. Kashmir will feel honoured to play neutral host to the dignitories from all over the world who will assemble there in quest of peace with justice, freedom for enslaved nations, and for elevating human dignity. Hence Kashmir's contribution will be a valuable one towards betterment of the suffering humanity.

And above all, independence will fulfil the dreams and aspirations of all those patriots who have sacrificed their all to regain for their motherland the glory that she enjoyed during her independence under her illustrious sons like Shahabuddin and Budshah It will bring the State out of the quagmire of alien domination and servitude and rid her of the continuous fortitude which she has been living in for the past several centuries. It will also give her a befitting status in the comity of nations as a dignified, prosperous and self respecting people. And that is the goal that every Kashmiri patriot has been aspiring and sacrificing for since the day Kashmir lost her independence.

CHAPTER VIII

Independent Kashmir And Pakistan

But for intransigence and colonialistic lust of Indian leaders, intriguing attitude of big powers, apparent impotency and apathy of the United Nations, and above all, for the gross blunders committed by Pakistan's politicians and bureaucrats since the very outset, Kashmir issue would have of late been solved judiciously and to Pakistan's advantage. If Pakistan, her politicians, bureacrats and diplomats in particular, sees the issue from a realistic perspective and adopts a policy congenial, pertinent and apposite to the changed circumstances, she can still gain much out of it though not as much as she could have in case people at the helm of her affairs had

fared better in the past. But if Pakistan continues to turn a deaf ear to the call of the situation and hard facts, she is going to suffer more and face heavier odds regarding the issue.

From the point of view of the 'principles' which India applied to grab Hyderabad, Manawadar, Junagarh and Mangrol, and for many other reasons, Kashmir should have formed a part of Pakistan. But that has not happened and two-thirds of the State territory continues to remain under India's occupation. No surprise therefore that the people of Pakistan are very touchy and sentimental about Kashmir. Pakistan did try to get a plebiscite held in Kashmir and used some other means too to solve the issue and in the process risked her own integrity more than once. But nothing came out of these efforts and ventures. Instead, the prospects of a plebiscite in Kashmir are fast receding day by day.

Under the present circumstances there are three alternatives open to Pakistan regarding Kashmir. She should either (1) continue to try to get the issue solved through (a) a plebiscite (b) international pressure, (c) negotiations or (d) by use of force; (2) be content with what is now under her control and forget about the rest of Kashmir-territory or (3) support Kashmiris movement for independence of the entire State. Let us discuss the three alter-natives on merit and in the light of existing circum-stances, Pakistan' sover all interests and some hard facts.

There is no doubt that accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan can benefit Pakistan a lot and in so many ways. Equally true is the fact that a plebiscite in the State on the issue of her accession to India or Pakistan only, is definitely going to result in Pakistan's favour. But is that now so easy an end to achieve? However painful it may be for Pakistanis and Kashmiris, the fact remains that the answer to this all important question is in negative. A plebiscite in the State under U.N. auspices and in accordance with the U.N. resolutions is becoming more and more improbable day by day due to India's intransigence, U.N's inability and lack of interest to get her own resolutions implemented, and big powers' lukewarm rather unfavourable attitude towards the issue and due also to the mishandling of the issue by various governments of Pakistan. There was a time when the Security Council passed resolutions providing for a plebiscite in Kashmir with ten of her eleven members voting for it and the eleventh (USSR) abstaining. India also pledged to implement them. Yet the resolutions could not be implemented. Is the situation the same today? Not to say of expecting such a resolution from the Security Council, not to say of India agreeing to abide by it if at all passed by the Security Council (even if both these things happen, they do not in themselves guarantee holding of a plebiscite), the very question of raising the issue at the Council has become an uphill task. The common man in Pakistan and Kashmir does not know and realise the

difficulties that Pakistan's representative at the United Nations has to face. The Security Council acts in keeping with the national interests of big powers. Even if the majority of the Security Council members adopts a resolution contrary to the wishes of a big power, the latter's veto smashes it instantly. Pakistan had a bitter experience in 1962 when after hectic efforts for about a year she succeeded in getting a resolution tabled, though not before the Security Council debate was adjourned thrice for no acceptable reason. But Russia's veto readily killed it although the resolution only 'advised' India and Pakistan to start mutual negotiations for solving the issue. The very fact that only a reference was made to Kashmir issue in the resolution, pinched Russia so much that she smashed it instantly. Russia's attitude towards the issue is no different today as can be judged from the contents of the Tashkent Declaration which does not bear even a formal reference to Kashmir issue although Russia was fully aware that the Indo-Pak war of 1965 was fought on this very issue. No direct reference was made to Kashmir even in the Joint Communique issued at the end of President Yahya's visit to Moscow in June 1970. American attitude is no different as is evident from her current policies. While referring to U.S. policy regarding Indo-Pak relations during his first policy statement, President Nixon did not even refer to Kashmir issue even formally. Even if the Security Council passes a resolution despite the unfavourable circumstances, how does that guarantee holding of a

plebiscite so long as India is adamant on not allowing it to be held. In view of the above said drawbacks, if somebody still pins hopes to the U.N. getting a plebiscite held in Kashmir, he is undoubtedly living in fools paradise.

Another way to get the issue solved would be through negotiations. But does India agree to it or have such negotiations held in the past borne any fruit? Definitely not, and any further efforts to that effect are going to prove equally futile.

Equally difficult is to get the issue solved through international pressure on India. Most of the powers whose views are decisive on international issues, will hardly lend and support to Pakistan in view of their own national interests. India enjoys stronger support from both U.S. and U.S.S.R. which Pakistan cannot even neutralise unless she toes their line and turns against Peoples Republic of China. But it will be suicidal for Pakistan to do so. Most of the smaller nations are camp-followers of big powers so far as international issues are concerned and those who follow an independent policy hardly want to annoy India. Moreover, the Kashmir issue has, during the last one decade or so, and for various reasons, lost its image as an issue concerning the right of self-determination of a nation and has taken the shape of a dispute between India and Pakistan over a piece of land and nobody is interested whether a particular piece of territory should form a part of Pakistan or of India. This devastating change in

the nature of the issue is the result of clever moves on the part of India and due mainly to the mishandling which it received from Pakistan's politicians, bureaucrats and diplomats from time to time, in and out side Pakistan.

Another way open for Pakistan to get Kashmir is to try to drag India to conference table through a military victory over her. But is Pakistan in a position to do so? And even if she is, are big powers going to allow her to do so? In size, population and war potential including size of armed forces and arms, Pakistan is far smaller than India. This deficiency can be well compensated by the professional superiority which Pakistan forces have over Indian forces and by the militancy of Pakistani people. Yet a complete military victory over India which may put Pakistan in a dictating-position, without Pakistan herself undergoing any loss or risking her own integrity seems to be as much of a wishful thinking as that of some Indian fanatics who think that India can inflict a crushing defeat upon Pakistan. No doubt that nothing can be said with confidence before hand about the result of a war between any two countries possessing different types of war potential and Pakistan may well inflict a defeat on India in exceptional circumstances but equally true is the fact that one cannot afford to bank on exceptions. Even if Pakistan is in a position to inflict a defeat on India, are the big powers going to allow her to do so? Definitely not atleast

under the present circumstances and this can be well judged from their past attitude particularly during 1965 war. Some people may say that China will help Pakistan but will not that drag both USSR and the U.S. to India's side and one can well imagine the horrors and ultimate result of such a war. Both India and Pakistan will most probably be destroyed and only the big powers can reap some benefits out of it. Can Pakistan subject herself to such a risk?

With a plebiscite in Kashmir at U.N's instance improbable, international pressure on India not available, negotiations futile and a war very risky, Pakistan is left with only two alternatives i.e. to be content with the present position with two-thirds of Kashmir under India's occupation and one-third with her or to support independence of the entire State. Let us now assess the merits of the two alternatives from the point of view of Pakistan's own national interests.

If Pakistan chooses to retain Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan and let India have the rest, it will amount to betrayal on her part towards Kashmiris. It will be still greater a treachery if Pakistan prefers to retain these areas at the cost of independence of the entire State. She stands so much committed to the right of self-determination (which in International Political terminology means independence) of Kashmiris that she cannot back out of it and if she does, she will stand condemned internationally as a colonialist nation. She will also be

held responsible for the miseries which over 2.5 million Muslims of Indian-held part will be subjected to in future. In short, sacrificing Kashmiris' independence at the altar of her own lust to retain one-third of the State, will be a gross moral crime on the part of Pakistan for which she will be condemned by history in general and by future generations of Kashmir in particular.

From the point of view of strategy and defence, an independent and neutralized Jammu and Kashmir State will be far more beneficial to Pakistan than retaining one-third of it and letting India have the rest. Due to her typical geographical position and smaller defence potential, it goes in her favour if the Indo-Pak border is shortened and an independent and neutralized Kashmir shortens it by over 400 miles as in case of independence to the State, the present cease-fire-line will vanish and will no more form Indo-Pak boundry. From a neutralized Kashmir, Pakistan will have no danger to her frontiers and she can deploy all her forces on her borders with India. So long as a single Indian soldier is stationed in Jammu area, Pakistan's Sialkot and Gujrat districts and for that matter her main railway line faces a danger from him. This danger became crystal clear during 1965 war and it is therefore in Pakistan's best interests that Indian forces get out of Jammu and Kashmir States. That can be done only if the State gets independence and not if the present position continues.

The economy of the State depends mainly on Pakistan who will find Kashmir a good market for her exports. In addition, Pakistan will enjoy full benefits of Kashmir waters. Her trade with China through Gilgit can continue under a tripartite agreement. Kashmir will use Karachi Sea-port for most of her imports and exports and that will provide Pakistan with additional revenue. Most of the tourists from foreign countries will pass through Pakistan while enroute to Kashmir giving an additional boost to Pakistan's tourist industry.

Once Kashmir issue is solved through independence to the State, the present strain in Indo-Pak relations will ease and Pakistan will be able to reduce her defence expenditure and the money so saved can be diverted to economic development of the country.

Independence of the entire State will relieve Pakistan of the burden of heavy expenditure on Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan. During the third five-year plan alone, Pakistan had to spend over 25 crores of rupees for the development of Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan. This is besides the expenditure during first and second plans and the amount that Pakistan advances to these areas annually.

And lastly, an independent Jammu and Kashmir will prove a good friendly neighbour to Pakistan.

In the light of the afore mentioned facts it can be safely said that independence of entire Jammu

and Kashmir State is by far in better interests of Pakistan than continuation of the present position with two-thirds of the State under Indian occupation.

Some sentimental and enthusiastic Pakistanis and Kashmiris may not agree with these arguments. It is any how for the farsighted, broad-minded, serious and responsible leaders and officials to weigh the propriety of these facts and arguments and bring home to the people and the Government of Pakistan what is in their best national interests. Problems that are fraught with serious positive and negative consequences are to be judged through a realistic and serious approach and perspective, however painful that may apparently seem.

CHAPTER IX

Independent Kashmir And India

Late Lord Bertrand Russel while commenting on India's image in his book 'New Hopes of a Changing World' says, 'When one observes that the high idealism of the Indian Government in international matters breaks down completely when confronted with the question of Kashmir, it is difficult to avoid a sense of despair". This is the comment of the greatest humanitarian and emancipationist of the contemporary history who was also a great admirer of India's Gandhi and Nehru and wanted and expected of India to play an effective role in diverting the course of history from one where stronger dominates the weaker to one affording greater opportunities and

justice to the suffering humanity. Like Lord Russell and other worshipers at the altar of freedom and justice, every wellwisher of India particularly those who in view of Nehru's and Gandhi's erstwhile ustinted support to freedom movements all over the world, expected of India to give the world a lead in elevating human dignity and in opening the doors of freedom to all enthrawled nations, were taken aback to see India herself grabing the freedom of her smaller neighbours at the very outset of her getting freedom from alien yoke. This distinct contrast between her preaching and action badly damaged Indias image abraod. Had India practised at home what she preached abroad, she could have and would have contributed a lot towards diverting the course of history to an end gauranteeing freedom of nations and checking the danger of war and victimisation of smaller ones at the hands of big nations. She could also serve as a bridge over the gulf that divides the world into different political and economic ideologies; and in the process would have raised her own image to unsurmountable heights. If not that of the whole world, she would have no doubt become the moral leader of non-communist Afrasia and would have, in place of being shunted out disgracefully from Summit Conferences, played decisive roles in such assemblies. But all her pious preachings and moral teachings lost their effectiveness the moment the world observed that she was practising at home quite contrary to what she was preaching to others.

One wonders as to why Indian leaders sacrificed Indias international image and integrity at the altar of Kashmir. There can be several reasons for it. May be that they could not fore-see the damage that forced occupation of Kashmir by them was going to cause to India's image and thought that they could get away with Kashmir without harming their national interests. Another reason could be that Kashmir, as his ancestral home and "a fairyland of dreamlike beauty" as he had described it, was too dear to Mr. Nehru to part with even at the cost of India's larger interests. Yet another reason could be that Indian leaders under-estimated Kashmiris' stamina and the force of their urge for freedom as also Pakistan's capability to give them a tough fight every where. Whatever the reason, subsequent events have proved all those reasons as wishful thinking and vain imagination. Mr. Nehru had however realised by 1964 that his erstwhile hope that time would itself solve the issue to India's advantage had proved a miscalculation and that India's overall interests called for a judicious and equitable solution of the issue. He released Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and allowed him to visit Pakistan to talk to Pakistan Government. Sheikh Sahib came to Rawalpindi and proposed a meeting of Mr. Nehru, President Ayub and himself to be held later in New Delhi to which Pakistan Government agreed. But the meeting never took place as Mr. Nehru died before the date fixed for the meeting. Mr. Nehru's death closed the doors of an

early solution of the issue as his successors resorted to India's erstwhile colonialistic devices and arrested the Sheikh once again.

Indian leaders may be following Mr. Nehru's pre-1964 thinking that time will kill Kashmiris urge for freedom and ultimately close the chapter. If they are really thinking that way, they are badly mistaken. This hope of theirs is as much of a wishful thinking as that of some Indian leaders who forecast in July 1947 that Pakistan would crumble down within months of her coming into being. 23 long years, during which India subjected Kashmiris to all sorts of trials and tribulations and practised all that is imperialistic, could not kill their urge for freedom which is as strong today as it was at the time of Indias occupation of Kashmir, for Kashmir is neither Hyderabad nor Goa that India gets away with it so easily. Kashmiris are a different nation and freedom is too dear to them to reconcile with slavery.

Another cause for Indian leaders' contentment and satisfaction may be the ostensible 'normalcy' in Kashmir and the 'every thing is OK' claims of their puppets. If they are really banking on these fallacies they are surely living in fools paradise. Within two days of their upheaval in December 1963 at the occasion of the theft of holy relic from Hazratbal, Kashmiris had paralysed the puppet government and perplexed the entire Indian leadership. The smouldering embers of Kashmiris' hatred for India can

any time burst to engulf entire Kashmir. Indians should also take a lesson from recent happenings in Pakistan. Who could imagine that Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan who had complete grip on the armed forces and civil administration as also on national press and whose position looked utterly invulnerable, would be toppled within a few months by a popular uprising. India can receive a worse treatment at the hands of Kashmiri patriots than what Ayub Khan received at the hands of students and a few leaders. The history of their own freedom struggle also provides a lesson for Indian leaders. If they themselves could force the British, on whose empire sun never used to set, to quit India, why cannot India be forced to quit Kashmir? The British were wise and far-sighted enough to fore-see the prospective adverse effects of delay in conceding freedom to India, hence left the subcontinent gracefully and honourably. India is perhaps waiting for receiving from Kashmiris a type of treatment that France received from Algerians and the United States is receiving from Vietnamese. Both France and the United States had the same vain imagination about impossibility of Algeria or Veitnam being able to cow them down, as India seems to have about Kashmiris. But history treads on a definite path; it cannot deviate from its general course in case of Kashmir just because it concerns India.

Keeping in view the damages that Kashmir issue has caused and is apt to cause in future to India's

economy and image, let us assess as to how much advantageous it will be to her national interests if India concedes freedom to Kashmiris voluntarily.

The first and immediate effect of Indias agreeing to concede freedom to Kashmiris will be that she will regain most of her prestige lost due to her unreasonable and colonialistic stand on Kashmir issue. Her image as a supporter of freedom movements stands disfigured and freedom of Kashmir can reshape it to a reasonable extent.

Kashmir has cost India thousands of millions of rupees and thousands of her soldiers. These figures are going to multiply in future if she continues her present policy towards the issue. But if she concedes freedom to Kashmir, she can on one hand save the country from the horrors of a third war with Pakistan as also from that of guerrilla war with Kashmiris that is imminent if Indias present policies continue, and on the other hand cutdown her defence expenditure to a reasonable extent and use the money so saved for feeding and clothing her starving millions and on overall national development as in case of peace with Pakistan, India will not need the quantum of arms and defence forces that she has now.

Once Kashmir issue is solved on the basis of freedom to the State, the present strain in Indo-Pak relations will ease. Once these two all important

nations of Asia come closer to each other on the basis of respect for each others sovereignty, they can, in place of confronting and vilifying each other in international forums, thereby disfiguring each others image, play a decisive role in international matters to their own and humanity's advantage.

Kashmiris' apprehensions of having a very dark future if Kashmir forms a part of India permanently are so deeprooted and weighty that once they realise that India is not at all going to free them voluntarily, they will not hesitate to seek help from big powers in addition to that from Pakistan, in their fight for liberation of their home-land from Indian yoke, even knowing that that would push Kashmir into the lap of the power that extends moral and material help to them. They are so allergic about India that they would prefer to be under direct or indirect influence of China or the United States than to be under Indian occupation. Indians should well imagine of the dangers which Chinese or American influence in Kashmir can pose to India's sovereignty. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah may not like such a step to be taken by Kashmiris and may try to keep them from going to that extent, but he is not going to be blindly followed by the youth in this respect.

Most of Indian leaders including those in the Government usually say that handing Kashmir over to Pakistan or having a plebiscite held in the State which is also going to result in favour of Pakistan, will put India's secularism to jeopardy. Although the excuse in devoid of reason and fairness, yet

even this lame objection is removed by independence of the State as that will in no way harm but strengthen India's secularism. Her own communalist fanatics and not freedom of Kashmir are the real enemies of India's secularism.

Some Indians also say that Kashmir is a point of prestige for India and the State going to Pakistan will be a defeat for her. Even this selfish contention is satisfied by independence of Kashmir as conceding freedom to Kashmir will be a defeat neither of Pakistan nor of India.

Seeing from any angle, conceding independence to Kashmir voluntarily, is in India's own best interests. Some narrow-minded communalists and short-sighted and colonalist-minded leaders may refuse to admit the propriety of these arguments. It is anyhow for the farsighted, broadminded and responsible leaders of India to judge the genuineness of these facts and apprehensions and take some bold steps accordingly. One of India's misfortunes and a thing that poses a great danger to her very integrity is, that real power in India is in the hands of communalist fanatics though they are not in power.

Whatever the position, the fact remains and history supports the contention that if India does not take her hands off Kashmir honourably and gracefully, she is bound to be kicked out of the State defeated, insulted and humiliated. It is anyhow for Indian Government and leaders to choose between the two options open to them.

CHAPTER X

Independent Kashmir and the World

Situated as it is between five giant nations of Asia namely Pakistan, India, Peoples Republic of China, The Soviet Union and Afghanistan, following different and divergent political and economic ideologies, the Jammu and Kashmir State is strategically one of the most sensitive areas in the world. Any trouble in this sensitive region is fraught with serious dangers to world peace. The Kashmir issue has already resulted in two wars between India and Pakistan including that of 1965 which almost dragged big powers into it. A third war is surely going to invite practical intervention from super powers which is most apt to result in a world war. It is therefore in the fitness of things from the point of

view of world peace that the issue is solved amicably and equitably. The best guarantee to maintenance of peace in this sensitive area is to let Kashmir emerge as a neutralized independent nation having friendly relations with all and following an orthodox and strict neutral policy in international disputes in general and in the disputes between its immediate neighbours in particular.

An independent and neutralized Kashmir with its enchanting natural beauty and sanatory climate can prove an ideal resort for tourists from all over the world in general and from Asian and African countries in particular. The physically and mentally tired businessmen, diplomats, statesmen, officials and other people from all over the world can share the benefits of the gifts that nature has bestowed upon Kashmir and secure the much sought peace of mind which the machine-like life of today snatches from people who have to shoulder heavy personal, business, official and political responsibilities.

The independent and neutralized Kashmir with fascinating natural beauty and climate full of health will provide ideal political, geographical and climatic conditions for international conferences where statesmen and diplomats from all over the world in general and from Asia and Africa in particular can assemble and discuss and solve international disputes and problems. Kashmir will feel proud to play a neutral host.

The above-mentioned advantages of an independent Jammu and Kashmir apart, all the signatories to the U.N. Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights in general and those who claim to be the exponents of freedom and liberty in particular, owe it to their moral responsibilities to extend full moral and material support to Kashmiri people in their struggle for their national emancipation. Kashmir issue is not a dispute between India and Pakistan over a piece of territory but is exclusively an issue concerning the freedom of a nation.

How unfortunate and shameful that some world powers have been using this issue as a lever to benefit their own national interests at the cost of freedom of this long trodden nation of six million people. We have quite often been punished for the 'wrongs' done by others. The Soviet Union vetoed two U.N. resolutions calling for grant of right of self-determination to us only because Pakistan had joined SEATO and CENTO, the American sponsored anti-Communist defence pacts. What after all was our fault in it. Kashmiris have had no hand in the formation of Pakistan's foreign policy or in her joining a particular international bloc. Even the USSR sponsored Tashkent Declaration has damaged our cause. The United States which poses to be the greatest champion of democratic and humanitarian values has also been behaving contrary to her tall claims. She did take some interest in Kashmiris' self-determination right until 1960 when her 'New Frontiers-

men' reshaped her international strategy and her support to our right of self-determination got buried under the debris of the erstwhile 'Dulles-diplomacy'. Kashmiris are thankful to Peoples Republic of China which has been following a sort of selfless policy towards Kashmir issue supporting our self-determination right. We hope she will continue this support irrespective of what type of relations she has with India and Pakistan in future. We are sorry to put on record that the attitude towards Kashmir issue of some of non-aligned nations particularly of U.A.R. and Afghanistan has not been a realistic one. Perhaps their friendship with India has been keeping them from calling spade a spade. Whatever be the reason behind their support to our self-determination right, we are thankful to Turkey, Iran, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Tunisia for their support. Algeria and Indonesia (during Dr. Soekarno's time in particular) have been supporting our cause selflessly. France and the U. K. have adopted a sort of neutral policy which implies conceding to usurpation of our freedom.

Let us hope that the comity of nations, particularly those who have a weighty say in international politics, views this issue from a realistic perspective as the question of freedom of a nation and gives it a fair treatment without making political capitals out of it or using it as a lever to strengthen their own international strategies. That is what justice, equity and fairness call for.

CHAPTER XI

The Ways and Means

Arguments given in the preceding chapters have established that, as related to other solutions of the issue, independence to the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir is a solution by far least harmful and most advantageous to all the three parties i.e. the people of Kashmir, Pakistan and India. This being clear, the next step is to explore practicable and effective ways and means to achieve the desired end.

While exploring these ways and means, Kashmiris have to study the history of successful freedom movements, Kashmir's own history, Kashmiris capablities and drawbacks, the political and geographical conditions of the State, prospects of availability of external, moral and material support and above all,

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While exploring these ways and means, Kashmiris have to study the history of successful freedom movements, Kashmir's own history, Kashmiris capablities and drawbacks, the political and geographical conditions of the State, prospects of availability of external, moral and material support and above all,

the attitudes, weaknesses and potentials of those from whom they have to free their motherland.

Justice, equity and fairness called for a reasonable attitude towards the issue on the part of Pakistan and India. But they, particularly the latter have not given a fair treatment to it. While India has adopted such an attitude out of her colonialistic lust to grab Kashmir permanently, Pakistan's folly lies in mishandling the issue internally and internationally. Nevertheless the blame for present state of affairs lies on Kashmiri leaders too. They never demanded independence of the State collectively and strongly but have usually been seeking solution of the issue on the basis of some vague terms and have continued demanding implementation of U. N. resolutions well knowing that it is just impossible under the prevailing circumstances to get these, if the readers bear me out, almost obsolete resolutions implemented. The most unfortunate part of the story is that even those leaders who are well-known for their pro-independence ideas have also been beating about the bush and have hardly made the demand in clear and unambiguous terms. Had independence been demanded openly and collectively from both sides of the cease-fire line, the issue would have of late been solved on the basis of independence of the State. Nevertheless it is never too late to redirect the channels of a movement towards a better end. History provides instances, in abundance

though, where movements got themselves entangled in a self-woven cobweb of confusion and ambiguity about their ultimate goal and lost a great deal of time and energy without achieving anything but dashed to their destination soon they got out of the cobwebs, reshaped their thinking and pinpointed their goal. Kashmiris have already lost so much of time in following divergent conceptions and points of view. Any more wastage of time in this fast moving world of today is only going to multiply their difficulties and further confuse the issue. It is therefore imperative that a step in the right direction must be taken without further loss of time.

The first thing that the exponents of the idea of independence on both sides of the cease-fire line should do is to organise themselve into well knit and desciplined organisations with a manifesto demanding independence of the entire State in clear, unambiguous and unequivocal terms. This done, they should launch a strong and effective mass-education drive, through literature and mass contacts, bringing home to the people of the State, the merits and advantages of independence. Steps should simultaneously be taken to establish branches or at least publicity offices in all world capitals of political importance. This is not as difficult a job as it apparently looks. There are Kashmiris working, living or studying in most of such capitals and they can do the job effectively. Most of them already subscribe to the idea of independence. They see and

read about nations far smaller in size, poorer in natural resources and far backward than Kashmir, getting freedom, hence develope the idea of independence to their own motherland too. There are no punitive laws like the Preventive Detention Act, Enemy Agents Ordinance or Defence of India Rules, no Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, no import licences, no political bribes or apprehension of loss of power that could keep them from adopting an independent thinking about the future of their trodden motherland. Hence they can contribute to and participate in the independence movement enthusiastically and effectively. They are anyhow to be directed by the parent organisations. These branches should be assigned the job of projecting the issue abroad in its real perspective as demand for independence of a nation of 6 million people. They should do it through literature, personal contacts and through other effective media.

This done, the organisation should formulate a sound, practicable, just and detailed procedure for a peaceful, amicable and honourable way of transfer of power in the State from the Governments of India and Pakistan to an interim National Government representing all religious, political, ethnical and territorial sections of the State. This plan should then be presented to the Governments of India and Pakistan with the request to implement it. The copies of the plan should be sent to all Heads of States, U.N. delegations, Foreign Embassies in India

and Pakistan and to all international forums. It should also be widely publicised in and outside Kashmir. The Heads of the States should be requested to use their good offices to persuade India and Pakistan to concede independence to Kashmir.

In all probabilities, India will in response continue harping on her oft-repeated hollow slogan of Kashmir being her integral part and Pakistan may say that she does not approve of any other solution except the one provided under the UN resolutions. (This calculation may not prove fully true and India and Pakistan or any of them may adopt a better or more unfair attitude towards the demand. In that case steps be taken keeping those reactions in view). After receiving direct or indirect reactions or written replies from the Governments of India and Pakistan, the organisation should submit counter arguments to them recalling Indias pledges and commitments about the issue at the U. N., in Kashmir, in Indian Parliament and through public announcements. A proper reply should be sent to Pakistan also. Copies of these counter arguments should also be sent to Heads of States, UN members and international forums and be given wide publicity internationally. In case Pakistan agrees to the demands, she should be asked to let Azad Kashmir Government take the shape of the Provisional Independent Government of the entire State and seek recognition as such from all States and apply for membership of the United Nations, and should

also sign a defence pact with a friendly country preferably Pakistan on the basis of equal status and respect of each others sovereignty. The Azad Kashmir Government should be independent in the real sense of the word and as such should take steps at home and on international level to free the remaining part of the State from Indian yoke. The best way to do so will be to start a guerrilla-cum-commando warfare against India in Kashmir and a very strong propaganda drive abroad. In case Pakistan does not agree to the idea, a government-in-exile should be formed which should seek recognition from freedom loving nations. The Government in exile should then take concrete steps on international level and in Kashmir to break the shackles of Kashmiris thrawldom. An armed resistance at home and propaganda offensive abroad should be started simultaneously. The armed resistance should restrict its activities against India only. This is necessary for so many reasons. Since the patriots will be short of arms and other ingredients of armed resistance, they can make good this deficiency by taking recourse in the beginning to some effective shortcuts, in place of resorting to a full offensive against the forces of occupation. These 'shortcuts' details of which need not be mentioned here, may, in normal course of time, be called unfair but will be unavoidable under the circumstances. It is always commendable if fair means are adopted to achieve high ideals, but when all fair means fail, resorting to unfair ones becomes unavoidable. If India could use most immoral and mean devices to enthrawl

Kashmir, why should Kashmiris hesitate in using some unfair means to free their motherland from forced foreign domination. The struggle should continue until India concedes independence to her occupied part of the State. Once Indian occupied area is freed, Pakistan can be persuaded to free her controlled part of the State and if she does not do it voluntarily, necessary steps can be taken to make her do so.

Freeing a nation from external domination is no doubt a colossal job but never an impossible one. It needs unshakeable determination, perseverance, patience and high spirit of sacrifice on the part of the struggling nation. Above all it needs a dynamic and revolutionary leadership. Kashmiris possess most of these qualities. All that is required is a disciplined, soundly planned and well co-ordinated momentous movement led by a selfless, patriotic, determined and revolutionary leadership capable of braving all odds and adversities, creating and seizing opportunities and of making best use of the favourable circumstances. All these things in action, freedom of Kashmir is by no means a difficult end to achieve.

Kashmir, why should Kashmiris disclaim [illegible] movement [illegible] from [illegible] determination. The [illegible] time until India succeeds [illegible] independence to [illegible] part of the State. Once India occupied area [illegible] can be persuaded [illegible] independence of the State [illegible] she does not do it [illegible] administering [illegible] has [illegible].

Freedom from external domination is no doubt a colossal job but never an impossible one. It needs an inflexible determination, perseverance and a high spirit of sacrifice on the part of the whole nation. Above all it needs a dynamic and revolutionary leadership. Kashmiris possess most of these qualities. All that is required is a carefully planned and well coordinated movement led by a selfless, patriotic, determined and revolutionary leadership capable of braving all odds and adversities, creating and seizing opportunities and of making best use of the favourable circumstances. All these things in action, freedom of Kashmir is by no means a difficult end to achieve.

CHAPTER XII

In Conclusion

The twenty-three-year history c
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It is never possible to find a solution of a dispute which could meet all the demands of all the contestants. Equity and commonsense provide that in the disputes where there are divergent views and contrasting interests, the best solution is the one that offers maximum benefits and minimum harm to all the parties on the whole. The solution should also be honourable for all and none of the parties should feel defeated. Above all the solution has to be based on justice and equity. This end can be achieved only if the parties do away with undue, illogical, unfactual and impracticable stands and demands. Unfortunately the present stands of India, Pakistan and of some Kashmiris fall within one or more of these categories. Indians have been refusing to see reason on Kashmir issue arguing that Kashmir is an integral part of Indian Union even knowing well that their contention is devoid of any legal, constitutional or moral sanction. If at all there are any standards that justify India's stand on Kashmir, they are the standards of effrontery, imposture, duplicity and deceit, the terms that stand condemned by all religious, moral and ethical codes as well as by the principles of justice and equity. This contention is a lame excuse adopted only to block the way for a just solution of the issue.

Pakistan also has been unduely clinging to a stand repeating the demand of implementation of U.N. resolutions on Kashmir, well knowing that neither are these resolutions a God-sent decree not to be deviated from, nor is there any possibility now to get

them implemented. Her demand being almost impracticable now, only stands in the way of a solution of the issue. Pakistan did deviate from this stand on some occasions but that was for the worse i. e. for division of Kashmir.

Some Kashmiri political parties also have adopted strange stands. Some puppets in Indian-held part of the State echo their masters' voice and say that Kashmir is an integral part of India. This category of people consists of those who have been blinded by the lust for power and wealth and want to grab both at the cost of national interests. Their only aim is to please their pay masters. On this side of the cease-fire line, there are some people who put forward funny arguments. They say that the letter 'k' in 'Pakistan' represents Kashmir; hence Kashmir should become a part of Pakistan. This argument is funny. If letters represented areas, Bengal and Baluchistan do not form parts of Pakistan as there is no 'b' in the word 'Pakistan'. Instead, both these provinces must be belonging to Bharat as that word starts with very 'B'. Another argument of this very strange stock of people is that Kashmir is the jugular vein (Shah Rug) of Pakistan. Well, one has yet to see a living being which could survive for more than a few minutes after two thirds of its jugular vein is cut off but Pakistan has lived for 23 years without Kashmir and will Insha-Allah live to eternity whether or not she gets Kashmir. These arguments are illogical, childish and unfounded.

So long as parties to Kashmir issue stick to these undue, unfair, illogical, unfounded and impracticable stands and demands, no just solution of the issue is possible. If the parties really want an honourable and equitable solution, they have to shum off these undue rigidities and replace them by reason and fairplay. They have before them the recent example of Behrain. This issue could well become another Kashmir if U.K. and Iran had not been reasonable enough to find an equitable solution. The claims of both the parties to Behrain issue were similar to those of India and Pakistan on Kashmir. They were any how wise enough to concede independence to 3 lac people of Behrain (one twentieth part of Kashmir) and avert addition to the troubles of the Middle East. Fairness and equity demand a similar approach to Kashmir issue on the part of India and Pakistan. It has been proved in Chapter IV that conceding independence to Jammu and Kashmir is by far the most honourable and equitable solution of the issue besides being in the best national interests of both India and Pakistan.

Concluding, let us take a brief and final account of the ultimate results of the two alternatives open to India and Pakistan i.e. the alternatives of conceding independence to Kashmir or sticking to their present stands.

Once India and Pakistan concede independence to Kashmir voluntarily, the present tension in their mutual relations will ease and will soon be replaced by friendly terms based on respect for each others

integrity and sovereignty. That will benefit both of them internally as well as internationally. The ever increasing communal riots in India which are the direct offshoot of the hatred and malice that Indian communalists have for Pakistan, will gradually decrease and ultimately come to an end with establishment of friendly relations between the two nations. That will on one hand guarantee a safe future for 70 million Muslims of India and on the other hand rid India of the disgrace and shame that mass massacres of Muslims bring to her every now and then. Her secularism will also stand on a stronger footing.

Once India and Pakistan come closer to each other, they need not spend the bulk of their national income on their defence against each other. The money so saved can be diverted to development in agriculture, commerce and industry thereby bringing prosperity to 600 million people of the Subcontinent. In addition, reduction in defence expenditure will relieve both the countries of much of their dependence on big powers which has so far been costing heavily on their international images besides subjecting them to heavy burden of loans and interest on them.

Kashmir issue solved amicably, India and Pakistan will stop confronting each other in international forums which has so far been disfiguring the images of both of them. The humiliation that India received at Rabat at the hands of Pakistan and the efforts that

India has been making to revenge it by getting Pakistan kept away from non-aligned nations' moots has lowered the image of both of them. Once India and Pakistan who possess tremendous geographical, economic, political and strategic importance, which they have so far been using against each other, join hands, they can well prove a trump card in international political games, elevating in the process, their own national images to the heights that any self-respecting nation can feel proud of. Together, they can form a force that can change the very course of history from an era where might throttles right to one where right and freedom will over-power might and slavery. And that will be the greatest service that a nation can render to suffering humanity and that also will be one of the greatest turning points in the history of mankind.

On the other hand if the present state of affairs continues, the hatred that prevails for each other in India and Pakistan will be added to, resulting in greater number of communal riots in India naturally followed by mass massacre of Hindus in Pakistan which will not only result in loss of lives of millions of Indian Muslims and Pakistani Hindus but will subject both India and Pakistan to universal condemnation.

At daggers drawn against each other, India and Pakistan will have to accelerate their arms race which will only subject both of them to complete

dependence on one big power or the other economically hence politically. Continuous tension between the two will on one hand cripple both of them economically and on the other hand, may well result in a more destructive war. Rest of the devastating after-effects of another Indo-Pak war aside, it may well invite foreign intervention and even aggression and in the process both India and Pakistan may lose their hard-won freedom and that will be the blackest day and the greatest tragedy in the history of the Subcontinent.

It is anyhow for the people at the helm of affairs in India and Pakistan to choose between the two alternatives, one leading to peace, prosperity, communal harmony and elevation of their national images and the other to increased communal riots, economic slavery and apprehension of loss of freedom of both the nations.

As for the future of Kashmir, it is my firm conviction, based on sound reasons, that, whether or not India and Pakistan concede freedom to us voluntarily, our dear dear motherland, the much trodden motherland, the disfigured paradise and her long trampled sons and daughters are bound to get their much deserved freedom, for they have suffered and sacrificed a lot for it hence freedom is their right and the right ultimately triumphs. The changing tides within and without the State are soon going to herald the dawn of a glorious era for Kashmir and we, her

sons and daughters, young and old, will dedicate ourselves to remove the debris of destroyed slavery from the sacred land and rebuild it to make it a real paradise, not only for ourselves but for the entire humanity, for as a neutralized independent nation, we shall have friendship and goodwill for all and malice towards none; not in the sense the terms are used in formal diplomatic protocol but true to their letter and spirit.

Long Live Free Kashmir
Long Live Freedom of Nations
Long Live Human Brotherhood

THE END.

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THE AUTHOR

Mr. Amanullah Khan was born in village Parishing, Astore, Gilgit on 24th August 1934. The only male issue of his parents, he lost his father at the age of two. Some domestic circumstances compelled him to migrate to Kashmir Valley in 1941 and he restarted his studies in village Haihama, Kupwara where his sister lives. After winning merit scholarships in Primary and Middle School Examinations, he passed Matric Examination from High School Handwara in 1950 topping the list of Muslim students of the University of Jammu and Kashmir. Joined S. P. College Srinagar and migrated to Pakistan in January 1952. After studying in Edwards College Peshawar for some time, he shifted to Karachi towards the end of the year.

In Karachi he worked, some times as a labourer during day time sleeping on a footpath during night, for about six months before he got a clerical job

which he continued for another six months. He then restarted his studies as a self-supporting student with a part time job starting with Rs. 30/- a month. He formed Kashmir Students Federation Karachi in 1954 and was elected its General Secretary. Graduated in 1957 and took full-time teaching job in two shifts in two private schools besides working as a casual artist (Translator) in Radio Pakistan. Having worked for 15 hours a day for over two years and while still a student of law, Mr. Amanullah started in 1961 an English language monthly news and views magazine, the 'Voice of Kashmir' which advocated independence for Jammu and Kashmir State. The magazine was anyhow closed in 1963 due to some unavoidable circumstances. He graduated in law in 1962.

Mr. Amanullah Khan was one of the founder-members of the Jammu and Kashmir Independence Committee formed in 1963 which demanded independence for the State. On formation in April 1965 of the Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front (for Azad Kashmir and Pakistan) which included almost all the members of the Independence Committee, he was elected its first General Secretary which position he held until November 1969. He formed the Kashmir Committee for Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity in 1966 and was elected its Secretary General.

He has to his credit two booklets in Urdu, the 'FLN, AL-FATAH AUR KASHMIRI NAUJAWAN' and 'HAMARAY NAZRIYAT'